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A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF JAVANESE

by

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INTRODUCTION

This is a descriptive study of Javanese. The problem under investigation arises from the need of a balanced, if only elementary, description of the language. The assumption on which the study is based is that a balanced description of Javanese should satisfy at least two requirements. One requirement makes it necessary for the investigator to provide an account of the grammar, i.e. a description of the structural mechanisms that are responsible for the production of grammatical sentences. The other requirement demands that the description of Javanese also clarify the communicative aspects of the language, i.e. those properties that govern the propriety of language usage, or that make grammatical sentences realisable into sentences acceptable to the native speakers in compatible interactions and settings.

The first demand has obviously become commonplace in linguistics. Any descriptive analysis of a language is without doubt an effort to satisfy this demand. Furthermore, the investigator is also aware that any descriptive analysis of a language is expected to reveal facts about the use of the language by its native speakers, and thus satisfy the second demand.

In view of linguistic facts in Javanese, however, the second demand is by no means tautological. The use of Javanese, in speech or in writing, always reveals an interesting phenomenon, which has to do with the type of relationship that currently obtains between the speaker and his interlocutor, or between the writer and his reader. A Javanese sentence always clearly marks a relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. In other words, the relationship is never neutral in Javanese. Such an English sentence as '*You have seen me*', which may be used by any one to any one else, may be expressed in one of at least the following four sentences:

1. Kowe wis wèruh aku.

2. Sampeyan empun sumerep kula.
3. Panjenengan sampun pirsu kula.
4. Panjenengan dalem sampun pirsu dalem.

There are constraints that are imposed upon a Javanese speaker to make an appropriate choice of one of the four sentences. In linguistic hardware, this choice involves the right use of words and affixes. The appropriate choice is what we shall call Speech Decorum. Following speech decorum, a student is supposed to use three to his teacher, who is supposed to one to him. Speech decorum is independent of the cognition of meaning and vice versa. A violation of speech decorum, however, will normally mar a linguistic communication.

A Chomskyan structural description of the four sentences will provide us only with one sentence configuration without any information as to which word goes with which other word, or when to use which sentence.

Javanese is one of the three languages indigenous to Java, a major island in the archipelagic Republic of Indonesia. Sundanese and Madurese, both related to Javanese, are the other two languages. Javanese is spoken mainly in central Java, in areas of the north part of West Java, and in a great part of East Java. Large concentrations of Javanese speakers are also found outside Java, particularly in the transmigration areas in South Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), and recently also in Irian Jaya (West New Guinea). Sundanese is spoken in the rest of West Java. Madurese is spoken in the island of Madura and in the north part of East Java south of Madura.

Languages of Indonesia and the areas where they are spoken have been put on excellent maps by Salzner and Esser (1951). The Indonesian Language Institute claims that so far 418 different languages of the nation have been inventoried (Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, 1972:7).

In the multilingual nation, Javanese is a major language in significant terms of what follows. Four decades ago Bloomfield reported that Javanese was spoken by 20 million speakers (1933:71). In the same decade, on the basis of a contemporary census, Lekkerkerker reported that the Javanese population comprised 47% of the total population of Indonesia, then the Netherlands East Indies (1938:505-506). At 45 million, the number of native speakers of Javanese still ranks highest in the nation today, far above Sundanese with 15 million native speakers, Madurese with 10 speakers, and Indonesian with nine million speakers (Adnani 1971:3), the last showing a considerable increase from 6,700,000 speakers in 1962 (Rice 1962:113).

Among languages in Indonesia, Javanese, as Uhlenbeck correctly observed (1967:865), has enjoyed the most productive attention of

linguistic scholars. While a great number of native languages in Indonesia have scarcely been described, Javanese has been subject to analyses since at least the 18th century.

Arbitrarily, works on Javanese may be divided into two groups. The first group includes those works done prior to World War II. These were mostly written by Dutch scholars who wrote in Dutch for apparently a Dutch speaking audience. Some others were written in Dutch or Javanese by Javanese scholars who were employed by the then ruling Javanese kings or who acquired a privilege in one way or another to get Western education. A very few were written in German or French.

An attempt at the grammar of Javanese, as indicated by its title, by Ronggowarsito (1866), revered by Javanese as a prophetic poet, reflects a lack of sound grammatical principles, which characterises a great number of works into which little, if any, linguistic insights are incorporated. In this work a naive account is given of how to pronounce the Javanese alphabet and of the derivation of the Javanese words. Illustrative of this is his assertion that a word can only be derived three times: *kali* 'river', *kalen* 'brook', *kalenan* 'gutter'.

Padmasusastra alias Wirapustaka was one of mostly self-taught Javanese grammarians. In 1883 he wrote a simplicistic account of grammar containing forced application of western literacy notions such as 'hyperbole' and 'sarcasm' to a disorganised work. His other work (1898) is not only more organised, but also rich in examples of language usage. However, very little information on the regularities of the structural features of the language can be captured from this otherwise unquestionably excellent work. His accounts of the levels of language usage, however, appear to be one of the most extensive presentations of the language phenomena, from which later words freely borrow. The same author's two other works (1912, 1917) reflect elementary attempts at dictionary or synonym-list making.

Among Javanese dictionaries that have so far been unexcelled are Pigeaud (1938, 1948) and Poerwadarminta (1939, 1940). Uhlenbeck was correct in noticing that no meaningful effort has appeared in print to enrich the field of lexicography since Pigeaud and Poerwadarminta (Uhlenbeck, 1967:866).

Rich illustrations of the derivation of Javanese words were given by Favre (1866), where accounts of the orthography were presented beyond comparison. Accounts of word types and structures were also presented. It is only regrettable that possibly due to his use of wrongly interpreted source of materials, many of his examples are completely non-existent in Javanese, a strange characteristic that is also shared in a work by Haag (1939).

Well-written accounts of the structures of Javanese sentences and sentence elements are presented in Berg (1937), Prijohoetomo (1937), Roorda (1906), and Walbeehm (1887, 1905). They are among the most valuable works on Javanese written in a language other than English. From structural point of view, incisive works on phonology such as Samsuri (1962) and on morphology such as Uhlenbeck (1949, equivalent to 1966) are indispensable. The latter scholar is to be credited for his many other linguistically sound works on Javanese, and for his being one of the few authorities of Javanese.

The factors that are related to language usage are discussed by Geertz (1960) and Koentjaraningrat (1957). The discussion, valuable as they are, are presented as a sideline to a strongly socio-anthropological work, which deals mainly with kinship systems and social statuses. While they correctly pointed out that a certain form is appropriate in one occasion but not in another, where a different form of 'identical' meaning is to be used instead, Geertz and Koentjaraningrat did not attempt to relate these differences to the differences pivotal in the use of speech, i.e. the differences reflected in the choice of address relationship a speaker makes in using his language.

In several other discussions directly concerned with the description of Javanese, even less has been found that presents a systematic clarification on what factors the choice of the appropriate forms depends. Explanations either too lengthy or sketchy are given that, for instance, such and such words belong to such and such level, i.e. low, mid, or honorific; also that despite its simple sound system, Javanese is complex in its use of vocabularies, since there are different levels of speech. No agreement has been reached as to what is the exact number of these so-called levels. It ranges, depending on the approach, from two to ten. Poedjosoedarmo (1968) exemplifies a stereotypical notion that there are ten levels of speech in Javanese, an observation already made in the last century (Padmasusastra 1898). A recent work by Sumukti (1971) takes into no account the different relationships between a speaker and his interlocutor, which are clearly marked in the surface representation of the language used.

Always amiss, in short, is a description of Javanese where one of its foci is on the relationships between a speaker and his interlocutor, which are assumed to be axial in this study. It is in this area that the present study is expected to give its characteristic contribution. The rest of the presentation, i.e. those having to do with grammatical matters, are no longer unprecedented, except in matters of framework preference.

We shall start in Chapter 1 with a brief account of the sound

system. Chapter 2 deals with the structure of the word. Chapter 3 deals with the typical structures of the sentence. For clarity of presentation, the accounts of speech decorum will be dealt with separately in Chapter 4.

Since it seems correct to assume that a description of a sound system of a natural language should clearly show the distinctive function of each phonological unit, it would follow that any description of such a system that satisfies this prerequisite should be as acceptable as any other that also does. In our view, the Neo-Praguan approach (Mulder 1968; Stuart 1957) seems adequate for our purpose to present the phonology of Javanese.

Although for the presentation of Chapters 2-4 the model used, i.e. generative semantics à la Chafe (1970a-b, 1971a-b), provides sufficient guiding principles, very little of such principles with reference to phonology have been available in the model. What Chafe (1970a and others) indicated in the phonological area is too sketchy to be taken as a model for a phonological description. Furthermore, Chafe believes that semantic structure, not syntactic structure, forms the basic component of language. If, for instance, we take the model of generative phonology (Chomsky and Halle 1968) as a framework, we would introduce a serious contradiction, since as we generally know the Chomskyan school considers that the syntactic deep structure, not the semantic deep structure, is the basic component of language.

Chapter 2 describes the regularities of the word formation devices, particularly those that are observable in the surface representation. This is followed by the core of the chapter, which deals with the structure of the word in terms of the notion that the nucleus of a sentence is the verb, around which the appropriate nouns related to it in a certain way as dictated by the valence of the verb may occur.

Chapter 3 deals with the structure of the sentence. Here the types of predications that occur in Javanese are discussed. Some preliminary observations of the expansion potentials of the predications will also be discussed.

Chapter 4 deals with speech decorum. Speech decorum involves the use of different words and affixes. Still a large part of the Javanese vocabularies can be used in any situation regardless of the relationship occurring between speech participants. But this is only natural, since speech decorum is just what it is, viz. a code of using language properly. It does not separate Javanese into different dialects or languages. Yet the precision of selecting the words and affixes from a relatively small sub-repertoire of Javanese words and affixes is decisive in making one a decorum abiding speaker.

Of great interest, we have found, is the feasibility of applying Chafe's semantic approach to the clarification of Javanese speech decorum. Repeating his earlier statement (1970b) Chafe points out an issue (1971a) which to the best of the investigator's knowledge has never been previously raised, particularly with reference to the problem that seems very similar to the so-called speech levels in Javanese. Our exploration of the phenomenon of language use that stems from the different ways a Javanese speaker looks at his interlocutor seems to be made easier by Chafe's view that it is tenable to make a distinction between 'semantic structure' and 'meaning'. Following Chafe, we believe that really identical meanings are scarce in language.

CHAPTER 1

THE JAVANESE PHONEMES

1.1. SOUNDS AS THE ELEMENTS OF JAVANESE WORDS

The primary basis of the classification of the Javanese sounds as the elements of the word is the articulation of the speech organs, i.e. those matters that pertain to the utilisation of these organs to produce speech sounds. On this basis, two notions are significant. They are the notion 'source' and the notion 'features'.

In terms of the anatomy of the speech apparatus, a territorial boundary may be set up to distinguish these two aspects of speech articulation. This boundary is in the area of the larynx where the vocal folds are. The air under these folds, which is subject to the operation of different mechanisms such as the diaphragm and the lungs, is basically the source of speech sounds. By means of the operation of these mechanisms and certain adducted positions of the vocal folds, a sub-glottal pressure is built up and released through the opening of the glottis, which is closed again by the so-called Bernoulli effect (Fant 1968:199), i.e. the suction which takes place following the opening of the glottis.

The tension of the vocal folds, resulting from the lateral and longitudinal strain of the muscle and ligament, determine the vibratory movements of the folds, which in turn determine the frequency of the air pulses.

Any modification of the route of the escaping air pulses which occurs in the buccal trace due to the shifting of the position of the apparatus is responsible for what is known as 'features'. These features are especially responsible for the distinction of the different vowels of Javanese. They are, furthermore, also significant in the distinction of the Consonants.

1.2. STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE JAVANESE SOUNDS

Unlike the vowels, which may occur as the nucleus of a syllable, the Javanese consonants occur only peripherally with reference to a syllable. No phenomena of syllabic consonants that are normal in English such as in 'button', 'cotton', 'glottal', are known in Javanese.

In articulatory terms, the vowels are classified in a two-dimensional system of opposition: height vs. advancement. Along the vertical height axis three positions are recognised: high, mid and low. There is only one low vowel in Javanese, i.e. a, which is characterised by the maximum lowering of the tongue.

The horizontal axis of the relative advancement of the tongue involves three positions: front, central and back. Lip-rounding is a non-functional feature in Javanese, that is, back vowels are generally accompanied by lip-rounding.

Diphthongs are not known in the Javanese sound system. Sequences of vowels, however, occur. Figure 1 on this page summarises the description of the articulatory phonetic features of the eight Javanese vowels.

FIGURE 1

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e ɛ	ɛ	o ɔ
Low		a	

The articulatory classification of the consonants may be presented as a two-dimensional proportion. The vertical axis makes distinction of general points of the degrees of occlusion, i.e. an obstruction in the buccal tract, which may render the higher frequency energy in the physical realisations as may be seen in a sonagram in some way suppressed (Fant 1968:243-253). Another type of occlusion also occurs in the larynx, which is responsible for the production of the occlusive q.

Total occlusion is responsible for the production of the nasals m, n, ɳ, ŋ, where the outgoing stream of air pulses is detoured through the nasal cavity; the occlusives p, t, t̚, c, k, q, b, d, d̚, j, g,

where the air stream that builds up in the stoppage somewhere in the mouth is released in a sudden motion through the buccal tract. Partial occlusion is responsible for the production of the fricatives *s* and *h* that are characterised by the turbulence or noise resulting from the air friction in the narrow occlusion. Minimal occlusion is responsible for the production of the continuants *l*, *r*, *y*, *w*, where minimal or no friction is involved.

The horizontal axis specifies two basic area features: vocal tract and source. Vocal tract features involve the articulatory production of the consonants in the area anywhere above the larynx. Source features involve the articulatory production of the consonants in the larynx, i.e. *q* and *h*.

Vocal tract features specify two articulatory characteristics: positive articulation and ballistic articulation. The distinction between these two types of articulation is in terms of two properties of the speech apparatus, i.e. the position of the apparatus and the path or trajectory any of the apparatus may take. In positive articulation, the essential characteristic is the position, whereas in ballistic articulation the trajectory of the apparatus is the essential property. This is clear with the continuants *y* and *w*, where the typical trajectory of the speech apparatus is detectable from the physiological posture of the lips and the tongue.

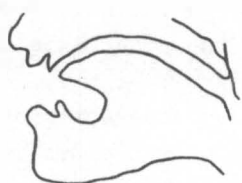
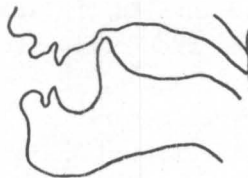
The positive articulation is directly related to the shaping of the air channel in the buccal tract. There are two significant types of the channel shape: shaped orifice and plain orifice. Shaped orifice is characterised by the particular shape of the buccal tract and the particular posture of the tongue that give rise to the modification of the air pulses escaping through them, and which in turn specifies the distinctive articulatory features of the consonants. Plain orifice is not so characterised.

With regard to the specific areas of the speech apparatus directly involved in the articulation of the consonants in the areas of plain orifice, a further classification may be made. There are two types of articulation involving this area. The first is labial articulation and the second is lingual articulation. Labial articulation involves the lips, lingual articulation involves the tongue. Labial consonants are *m*, *p*, *b*.

Lingual articulation is specified in three major areas: apical, i.e. the tip area of the tongue, laminal, i.e. the front blade of the tongue, and dorsal, i.e. the back part of the tongue. Javanese recognises two distinctive features of apical articulation. The first is what we may call apico-dental articulation in which the tip

of the tongue is articulated against the back of the upper teeth. The second is cacuminal articulation, in which the top tip of the tongue is articulated against the hard palate. Apico-dental consonants are the occlusives *t* and *d*. Cacuminal consonants are the occlusives *t̚* and *d̚*. Figure 2 on this page shows the difference between the apico-dental articulation and the cacuminal articulation.

FIGURE 2

dental: *t*, *d*cacuminal: *t̚*, *d̚*

As for the nasal *n*, since there is only one functional *n* in Javanese, it may be called a dental consonant.

Laminal consonants are *ɲ*, *c*, *j*. Dorsal consonants are *ŋ*, *k*, *g*.

Figure 3 on p.5 charts the Javanese consonants according to the structural classification just discussed. The column source features is separated from the column vocal tract features for the obvious reason that vocal tract features may be modified by the manipulation of the speech organs above the larynx, while source features, being inherent with the larynx, are independent of such supraglottal modifications.

Figure 4 on p.6 charts the Javanese consonants according to IPA (1949:10-19).

The phonetic articulatory realisations of the consonants are as follows (where 'tense' and 'lax' refer to the nature of occlusion):

- p* = voiceless, lax, bilabial occlusive
- b* = voiced, tense, bilabial occlusive
- t* = voiceless, lax, apico-dental occlusive
- d* = voiced, tense, apico-dental occlusive
- t̚* = voiceless, lax, apico-cacuminal occlusive
- d̚* = voiced, tense, apico-cacuminal occlusive
- c* = voiceless, lax, palato-laminal occlusive
- j* = voiced, tense, palato-laminal occlusive
- k* = voiceless, lax, dorso-velar occlusive
- g* = voiced, tense, dorso-velar occlusive
- q* = voiceless, glottal occlusive

FIGURE 3

A R E A S O F O C C L U S I O N									
Types of Occlusion	V o c a l T r a c t F e a t u r e s							Source Features	
	Positive						Ballistic		
	Plain Orifice					Shaped Orifice			
Total Occlusion	Nasals Occlusives	Labials	Linguals					q	
			Apical		Laminal				Dorsal
			Dental	Cacuminal					
		m	n	° t ° d	h c j				° ñ k g
		p	t	° t ° d	c				k
b	d	° t ° d	j	g					
Partial Occlusion							s		h
Minimal Occlusion							l r	y w	

m = voiced, bilabial nasal
 n = voiced, apico-alveolar or apico-dental nasal
 ɲ = voiced, palato-laminal nasal
 ŋ = voiced, dorso-velar nasal
 l = voiced, alveo-cacuminal lateral
 r = voiced, alveo-cacuminal trill
 w = voiced, bilabial frictionless continuant
 y = voiced, palato-laminal frictionless continuant
 s = voiceless, apico-alveolar fricative
 h = voiceless, glottal fricative

FIGURE 4

	Bilabial	Dental and Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d	ɖ ɗ	c j	k g	q
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Fricative		s				h
Semi vowel	w			y		

1.3. PHONOTACTICS OF THE CONSONANTS AND THE VOWELS

The consonants b, d, g, c, j, ɖ, ɗ, ɲ, y, and w do not occur in word final position. The rest of the consonants do.

The vowels E and ɛ do not occur in word final position, the rest do. In word final position, the vowel a only occurs in the word ora 'no', though some claim that it also occurs in the archaic word mboya 'no', which does not exist in the investigator's data nor in his repertoire, and in names, e.g. jakarta 'Jakarta', jayapura 'Jayapura', jakaria 'Zakaria'.

In terms of the capability of occurring peripherally to a syllabic nucleus, the consonants may occur singly or in clusters. A consonant cluster is a sequence of two, and no more, consonants that belongs to, i.e. occurs peripherally with, a syllabic nucleus. The number of consonant clusters is small. No consonant cluster occurs in word final position.

The types of consonant clusters which occur in word initial position are summarised as follows, where the symbol + indicates the combination and the symbol N refers to a homorganic nasal, i.e. a nasal that shares similar types of degrees and areas of occlusion except the air exit, which is the nasal cavity for the nasal.

- a. Plain orifice consonant } + r
s
- b. Plain orifice consonant except \dot{i} , \dot{d} } + l
s
- c. Labial consonant } + y
Dorsal except g
- d. Laminal consonant } + w
s
k
d
- e. N + $\begin{cases} b \\ d \\ \dot{d} \\ j \\ g \end{cases}$

The examples given below are listed in pairs with words in which the first consonant, i.e. the one that occurs in word initial position, is the same as the second member of the clusters. Whenever possible minimal pairs, i.e. where the first member of the cluster is commuted to zero, are given.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. mrusoh 'foamy' | rusoh 'unsafe' |
| prɔjɔ 'dignity' | rɔjɔ 'king' |
| bramban 'onion' | ramban 'select by floating' |
| nrajan 'to trespass' | rajan 'slice' |
| trajan 'behaviour' | rajan 'slice' |
| driyɔ 'mind' | riyɔ 'old rank in government' |
| irɛtɛl 'loose' | rɛwɛl 'fussy' |
| ɖrandan 'resound repeatedly' | randu 'Java kapok' |
| ɦrandu 'sour-faced' | randu 'Java kapok' |
| crawaq 'loud-mouthed' | rawet 'smallish' |
| jrankɔn 'skeleton' | rankol 'embrace' |
| ɳrawet 'to compose' | rawet 'smallish' |
| kriyaq 'crunch' | riyaq 'slimy saliva' |
| grayah 'grope' | rayah 'to loot' |
| srabi 'pancake' | rabi 'to get married' |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| b. mlaŋkah 'to straddle' | laŋkah 'step' |
| plôŋkô 'two-coloured' | lôŋkô 'rare' |
| blaraq 'palm leaf' | laraq 'to drag' |
| nladoŋ 'to attack' | ladeŋ 'knife' |
| tlale 'elephant's trunk' | lali 'to forget' |
| dlimô 'pomegranate' | limô 'five' |
| hlaraq 'to lock up' | laraq 'to drag' |
| climèn 'in modest fashion' | limô 'five' |
| jlumat 'to darn' | lumah 'face up' |
| ŋluku 'to plow' | luku 'plow' |
| kluwaq 'kind of fruit' | luwaq 'civet cat' |
| glali 'sugar cake' | lali 'to forget' |
| slaraq 'hurdle' | laraq 'to drag' |
| c. myayi 'aristocratically' | yayi 'darling girl' |
| pyayi 'aristocrat' | yayi 'darling girl' |
| byayaq 'not methodical' | yaq 'you don't say so' |
| ŋiyet 'slimy' | yiyet 'slime' |
| kyai 'a mystic' | yayi 'darling girl' |
| d. hwêwêq 'to grimace' | wêwêh 'to give' |
| cwêwêq 'grimace' | wêwêh 'to give' |
| jwawot 'rye' | wasoh 'to reconcile' |
| kwalì 'earthen pot' | wali 'guardian' |
| swiwi 'wing' | wiwet 'to begin' |
| dwijô 'man's name' | wijên 'sesame seed' |
| e. mbađot 'to clown' | bađot 'clown' |
| ndEIEŋ 'to see' | dEIEk 'kind of fish' |
| nđuwor 'on' | đuwor 'high, tall' |
| njaŋan 'to make stew' | jaŋan 'stew' |
| ŋgambar 'to draw' | gambar 'picture' |

Intervocalically, sequences of two or three consonants may occur. Two-consonant sequences in this position may or may not form a cluster. The last two members of a three-consonant sequence always form a cluster which belongs to the following syllable. Many of the clusters of types a, b, and c, and only these, may constitute the last two members of a three-consonant sequence in intervocalic position. Some examples of three-consonant sequences where the last two members belong to the following syllable and the first member to the preceding syllable are:

ambroq 'to collapse'
 gamblaŋ 'very clear'
 ŋganjrEt 'intermittently'
 aŋslop 'to set (sun)'
 ambyor 'to dive'

As for intervocalic two-consonant sequences, the following conditions apply:

- i. If the sequence is any of the types which can occur in initial position except those under e, the sequence is functionally a cluster, i.e. it belongs to the following syllable.

Examples: abyór '*brilliant*'
 kuploq '*headdress*'
 pasrah '*to submit*'

- ii. Other types of sequences belong to two adjacent syllables, i.e. the first member belongs to the preceding syllable, the second member to the following syllable.

Examples: kEmbañ '*flower*'
 warnó '*colour*'
 saqkal '*immediately*'
 tambor '*drum*'

The occurrence of a vowel directly adjacent to another forming two nuclei of syllables within one word is rare. Figure 5 summarises the occurrences and non-occurrences of vowel sequences, which involve the so-called 'non-combined words' (vide 2.2.2. and 2.4.5.-2.4.6.). The vowels listed in the column may precede those listed in the row. Numbers refer to occurrences. These numbers correspond to the numbers of examples given following Figure 5. A non-occurrence is indicated by the mark x.

FIGURE 5

	i	e	é	E	a	u	o	ó
i	x	x	x	x	1	2	3	4
e	x	x	x	x	5	x	6	7
é	8	9	x	x	x	x	x	x
E	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
u	x	10	x	x	x	x	x	11
o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	12
ó	x	13	x	x	x	x	x	14

1. piagEm 'decree'
2. piutañ 'credit'
3. cioda 'kind of hairstyle'
4. piðlð 'evil deed'
5. gawean 'made in'
6. beo 'myna bird'
7. reneð 'come here!'
8. srði 'greedy'
9. olée 'his way of'
10. susue 'the nest'
11. turuð 'Go to bed!'
12. ronod 'Go there!'
13. amðe 'the torn part'
14. luñðð 'Go away!'

CHAPTER 2

THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORD

2.1. CHAFE'S FRAMEWORK

As an element of language, a word is basically a conversion of meaning to a physical realisation in the surface representation, and this direction is never the other way round. The process of conversion starts somewhere in the knowledge of the speaker. While human knowledge is so vast and complex that it defies any attempt of in-depth description, Chafe finds it justifiable to assume that this knowledge is subject to formalisation into what he calls the area of semantic structure (1971b:57), i.e. a theoretical construct which is posited to explain those observable facts generally subsumed under the label meaning (1971a:13). Apparently, this semantic structure was based on what Fillmore mentioned as Semantic Deep Structure (1968:88). It is in this area, of great interest but least understood, that a set of formation process rules take place to establish the structure of a word.

This initial semantic structure is subject to further processes of transformation, which modify it, resulting in intermediate post-semantic structures, to be converted into an output for the surface structure.

The surface structure is then subject to further processes of symbolisation, which convert it into its underlying phonological structure.

This underlying phonological structure is subject to further processes of phonological rules, which convert it through intermediate phonological structures to acquire its phonetic structure, which is then accessible to pronunciation and spelling.

The verb and the noun, reflecting the dichotomy of the universe of the human knowledge, are the most significant elements of a sentence.

A sentence is built up around a verb, which may be accompanied by one noun or more, which is related to the verb in a certain way. The notion that a verb imposes a certain set of dependency relations with the nouns that may accompany it in a sentence was suggested by Fillmore (1968). These relations are known to be in terms of such case roles as Agent, Instrument, Object, assumed by the nouns, which are mapped into the surface structure where the relations still retain the semantic roles.

In the formation stage, the characteristic relation between the verb and the noun is established by means of the processes of specification, which delimit the verb and the noun in terms of narrower semantic units. There are four types of these units. The first type that is incorporated within a verb or a noun is called selectional unit. The second type is called lexical unit. The third type is called inflectional unit. The fourth type is called derivational unit.

The selectional unit that occurs in a verb specifies it either as a state verb or a non-state verb. If it is a state verb, the selectional unit that occurs in the accompanying noun will specify it as a patient noun. A non-state verb is either an action verb, a process verb, or an action-process verb. In addition to these verbs, by means of further selectional specifications we also have experiential verbs and benefactive verbs. Each of these non-state verbs requires a different type of noun from the noun that may occur with a state verb.

The selectional unit not only dictates the type of dependency relations that may occur between the verb and the noun or nouns that may accompany it, e.g. if a state verb, then a patient noun, but also specifies what following unit, i.e. the lexical unit, is to occur in the verb and consequently also in the noun.

A lexical unit, unlike the verb and the noun and their respective selectional units, i.e. state or action or any other, is maximally specific. This means that it conveys the maximum load of information for every noun or verb. The constraint of the selectional unit on the lexical unit is shown in the implication that a state verb is lexically to be specified as, for instance, *'heavy'*, *'hard'*, *'beautiful'*, *'delicious'*, but not as *'run'*, *'fly'*, *'stand'*, *'cry'*, and that an action verb is lexically to be specified as *'dance'*, *'go'*, *'run'*, *'cry'*, but not as *'bad'*, *'slow'*, *'dry'*, *'deep'*. By the same token, the selectional specification of a noun as *'masculine'*, for instance, entails its lexical specification as *'man'* but not as *'woman'*.

The inflectional unit is a semantic unit which, with a verb, for instance, may involve such notions as voice, aspect, tense, and with a noun such notions as definite and number.

The derivational unit is a semantic unit the function of which is to convert a particular verb or noun, which has certain intrinsic properties, into a derived lexical unit with different properties.

2.2. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Two general areas will be delimited in terms of their definitions and their description. The first area has to do with the structure of the word as it is observable in terms of the regularities of form that are related to the meanings conveyed. The second area has to do with the structure of the word as it is viewed from Chafe's framework. The first criterion makes a distinction between a simple word and a composed word. The second criterion differentiates a nuclear word from a peripheral word. Notational symbols are also presented, although some further accounts may necessarily be given on certain points where the symbols are used or where new symbols may be introduced.

2.2.1. The Simple Word

A simple word contains one lexical unit only. In surface representation, a simple word does not involve any affixation. In a certain respect a simple word is what Chafe would call a "word-root" (1970b:108). The surface definition is necessary, since there are many Javanese verbs that involve an obligatory affixation as soon as a formation process starts to establish them. For example, such a word-root as *adEk* will remain a simple word meaning '*stand*', verb or noun, specified in the most general way. As soon as it is specified as action, then the action feature entails a certain prefix which forms the root to become an action verb *ṅadEk* '*to stand*'. If it is specified as a process verb, then it becomes *madEk* '*to take a stand*'. If it is specified as an action-process verb, it becomes *ṅadEkake* '*to erect*'.

A monosyllabic word is always a simple word. Under circumstances that a simple word is subject to breakdown, it always consists of two parts, one part is the carrier of the lexical unit, the other part is meaningless. This meaningless part is usually a euphonising appendage, and as such it is functional in terms of the phonology of the word only.

2.2.2. The Composed Word

A composed word is a word that involves an extension of a simple word either in terms of affixation, reduplication, or combination.

An affixation involves prefixes, infixes and suffixes.

A reduplication is of two types. The first type is a reduplication

of the first syllable of a word.

There are two types of combination. The first involves a combination of two words of related meanings. The second type involves a combination of two words of unrelated meanings.

2.2.3. The Nuclear Word

The distinction between a nuclear word and a peripheral word is in terms of the notion of the centrality of the verb in a sentence. The dependency relations of a verb with the nouns that may accompany it in a sentence function as the valence of the verb. This valence establishes the basic component of a sentence, i.e. the proposition of the sentence (Fillmore 1968:23). The other component of a sentence is the modal component, which does not belong to the valence of the verb.

A nuclear word is a word that is central with reference to the proposition. The function of a nuclear word is always implied by the verb, i.e. the nucleus of a proposition.

2.2.4. The Peripheral Word

A peripheral word is not central with reference to a proposition. Its function is not implied by the verb. Its presence in the surface representation is always optional. It occurs in the surface representation by virtue of its function to expose the relationships of the nuclear words, or its function to attribute the diagnostics of the observable meaning of the proposition in the surface representation.

2.2.5. The Affix

An affix, i.e. a prefix, an infix, or a suffix, is an appendage that is linked to a word, the function of which has to do with the expansion of a simple word into a composed word, and which itself never occurs in isolation. As for the internal structure of the affix, an affix is linked to its own semantic structure, i.e. an affix is never meaningless.

2.2.6. Notational Symbols

The symbols, many of them are borrowed from Chafe (1970a, 1970b), are as follows:

X-...	'X is a prefix to a word occupying ...'
...-X	'X is a suffix to a word occupying ...'
...-X-...	'X is an infix to a word occupying ... and ...'
L	'a lexical unit'

\emptyset	'the inflectional unit is reflected by zero in the surface representation'
X	'the inflectional unit is reflected by X in the surface representation'
\sim	'either/or with no functional difference'
$\overline{\quad}$	'related in a certain way'
$\overline{\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \quad \text{Y} \quad \text{Z} \\ \text{X} \quad \text{Y} \quad \text{Z} \end{array}}$	'the relation of Y to X is subordinated to the relation of Z to X'
S	'sentence or sentence proposition'
V	'verb'
N	'noun'
Ns	'nasal'
Vw	'vowel'
X \longrightarrow Y	'X obligatorily becomes Y'
X \dashrightarrow Y	'X optionally becomes Y'
X $\longrightarrow\!\!\!\longrightarrow$ Y	'X is obligatorily further specified as Y'
X $\dashrightarrow\!\!\!\longrightarrow$ Y	'X is optionally further specified as Y'
-X	'X is absent'
+X	'X is present'
\pm X	'the presence of X is optional'
/	'in the environment of'
[]	'in combination'
$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{Y} \end{array} \right\}$	'X or Y'

2.3. THE SURFACE STRUCTURE OF THE SIMPLE WORD

There are two types of simple word: monosyllabic word and non-monosyllabic word. The number of Javanese monosyllabic words is small. Uhlenbeck (1966) presented an excellent account of the types of words in terms of their canonical forms, where he also noticed the scarcity of the monosyllabic words. A simple word may represent a nuclear word or a peripheral word.

2.3.1. Monosyllabic Word

Any breakdown of a monosyllabic word that may bring about parts one of which may be identical with a word is accidental. Such words as pre^{e} 'bamboo', se^{e} 'who, which', pe^{e} 'multiplied by', me^{e} 'only', are simple words by virtue of their being monosyllabic and having a single lexical specification. The recurring e^{e} , which is identical with the word e^{e} 'in' is totally meaningless in reference to each of

the four words. So are the consonants *pr*, *s*, *p*, *m*, which precede it.

Some monosyllabic words are subject to an optional affixation of a meaningless euphonising appendage. This is always a vowel and attached before the word. Before a word beginning with *y*, the appendage is *i*. Before *w*, the appendage is *u*. Elsewhere, the appendage is *ɛ*.

The following words are illustrative of monosyllabic words, where the symbol *O* indicates that the word is normally not subject to the euphonising affixation:

	<i>paŋ</i>	'branch'
<i>O</i>	<i>pruŋ</i>	'in unison (departure)'
	<i>blɛk</i>	'cut down to size'
<i>O</i>	<i>brɛm</i>	'sugar foam cookie'
	<i>tɛr</i>	'go along with'
<i>O</i>	<i>tó</i>	'You see!'
	<i>dóm</i>	'needle'
<i>O</i>	<i>das</i>	'zero'
<i>O</i>	<i>ʃɛŋ</i>	'sharp (as in two o'clock sharp)'
	<i>ðón</i>	'understand'
<i>O</i>	<i>ðɛŋ</i>	'attention!'
	<i>crɛh</i>	'divided'
<i>O</i>	<i>ceŋ</i>	'ostracise'
	<i>jók</i>	'add up'
<i>O</i>	<i>jam</i>	'hour'
	<i>kom</i>	'soak up'
	<i>ŋoq</i>	'ration'
<i>O</i>	<i>ŋɛs</i>	'tasteful'
<i>O</i>	<i>hus</i>	'shut up!'
	<i>wɛt</i>	'tree'
	<i>wóh</i>	'fruit'
	<i>yón</i>	'swing'
	<i>yó</i>	'yes'

2.3.2. Non-monosyllabic Simple Word

The length of a non-monosyllabic simple word generally does not exceed three syllables. There is no way of saying in which syllable of a non-monosyllabic word its meaning is centered. Some of monosyllabic simple words are subject to a meaningless euphonising appendage. There are three types of appendage: *a*, *ŋ*, *q*.

2.3.2.1. *The Appendage a*

This appendage occurs before a limited number of words:

- gawe ~ agawe 'make'
 margò ~ amargò 'because'
 nañen ~ anañen 'but'
 padu ~ apadu 'quarrel'

2.3.2.2. *The Appendage ñ*

This appendage occurs between the two syllables of a limited number of bisyllabic words:

- sòkò ~ sòñkò 'from'
 mòsò ~ mòñsò 'season'
 musoh ~ muñsoh 'enemy'
 masaq ~ mañsaq 'cook'
 aslop ~ añslop 'set (sun, moon)'

but also:

- manusò ~ manuñsò 'man'

There is another word: sòkò 'pillar', which has a surface representation exactly identical with the first word in the list above. But sòkò 'pillar' is not subject to the affixation of the appendage ñ.

2.3.2.3. *The Appendage q*

This appendage occurs at the end of a limited number of words that end in a vowel. When it occurs, it normally affects the nuclear vowel of the last syllable to which it is attached. Sometimes it may also affect another vowel that is in harmony with the vowel of the syllable where it occurs.

- adi ~ adeq 'younger sibling'
 bali ~ baleq 'return'
 uwò ~ uwaq 'older sibling of a parent'
 ðewe ~ ðewèq 'alone'
 kaki ~ kakèq 'grandfather'
 bibi ~ bibèq 'aunt'
 ólò ~ éléq 'bad'

2.4. *THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMPOSED WORD*

The expansion of a simple word into a composed word normally involves the nuclear words only. The formation of a composed word has to do with the specification of the word in terms of any of the four semantic units, i.e. selectional unit, lexical unit, inflectional unit, derivational unit.

The formation of a composed word may be reflected in the surface representation by the affixation, reduplication, or combination.

There are two types of affixes. The first type occurs with the specification of a verb. The other type occurs with the specification of a noun.

In the surface representation, some affixes that occur with a verb are identical with some affixes that occur with a noun.

The affixes that are related to a verb are listed as follows, where parentheses include an optional phoneme:

- a. The prefixes:
 - 1. móró-... ~ mEr-...
 - 2. kapi-...
 - 3. kami-...
 - 4. kumó-...
 - 5. a-...
 - 6. m(a)-...
 - 7. (a)Ns-...
 - 8. ka-... ~ kE-...
 - 9. di-...
 - 10. taq-... ~ daq-...
 - 11. kòq-...
- b. The infixes:
 - 12. ...-in-...
 - 13. ...-um-...
 - 14. ...-r-...
- c. The suffixes:
 - 15. ...-(n)i
 - 16. ...-an
 - 17. ...-En
 - 18. ...-ò
 - 19. ...-ake

The affixes that are related to a noun are listed as follows, where parentheses include an optional phoneme:

- a. The prefixes:
 - i. pari-...
 - ii. pra-... ~ pEr-...
 - iii. pVw(Ns)-...
 - iv. ka-... ~ kE-...
- b. The suffixes:
 - v. ...-an
 - vi. ...-(n)e
 - vii. ...-ku
 - viii. ...-mu

Since a separate discussion on speech decorum will be presented in Chapter 4, the prefix dipon-..., equivalent to 9, the suffix ...-(n)ipon, equivalent to vi., and the suffix ...-(a)kEn, equivalent to 19, are not listed here.

2.4.1. The Affixation of a Verb

The prefixes 1 - 4 are not productive. The rest of the affixes are productive, although the infixes 12 - 14 are less so.

2.4.1.1. The Verb with mórò-... ~ mEr-...

The prefix forms a verb from a simple-word noun:

dayòh 'guest'	móròdayòh ~ mErdayòh 'pay a visit'
hihih 'scabies'	mErhihih 'full of scabies'

2.4.1.2. The Verb with kapi-...

The prefix forms a verb from a simple-word noun:

dErEn 'strong wish'	kapidErEn 'overeager'
lare 'child'	kapilare 'childish'

2.4.1.3. The Verb with kami-...

This prefix normally occurs in combination with the prefix 16. ...-an to form a verb from another simple-word verb:

gilò 'aversive'	kamigilan 'terrified'
sését 'peel'	kamisésétEn 'suffer from skin peel'

2.4.1.4. The Verb with kumò-...

The prefix forms a verb from a simple-word verb or a simple-word noun:

wani 'dare'	kumòwani 'recklessly dare'
lancañ 'pre-emptive'	kumlancañ 'thoughtlessly pre-emptive'
rujaq 'hot fruit salad'	kumrujaq 'at right stage for making a hot salad'
pañgañ 'roast'	kumañgañ 'at right stage for roasting'

2.4.1.5. The Verb with a-...

The prefix forms a verb from a simple-word noun:

wañon 'shape'	awañon 'in the shape of'
rupò 'appearance'	arupò 'have the appearance of'
gaman 'weapon'	agaman 'armed with'
bòndò 'wealth'	abòndò 'provided with'

2.4.1.6. The Verb with m(a)-...

The prefix forms a verb from a simple-word noun:

guru 'teacher'	maguru 'learn from a teacher'
sEmbah 'respect'	manEmbah 'pay respect to'

arEp 'front'	marEp 'face'
aju 'progress'	maju 'move forward'

2.4.1.7. The Verb with (a)Ns-...

The prefix forms a verb from a simple-word verb or a simple-word noun:

tules 'write'	nules 'write'
jaloq 'ask for'	njaloq 'ask for'
gule 'stew'	ngule 'make stew'
oyot 'root'	noyot 'take root'

2.4.1.8. The Verb with ka-... ~ kE-....

The prefix forms a verb with a passive meaning from a simple-word verb:

junjon 'lift'	kajunjon 'lifted'
gilEs 'grind'	kEgilEs 'ground'
jupoq 'take'	kEjupoq 'taken'
wEdar 'reveal'	kEwEdar 'revealed'

2.4.1.9. The Verb with di-...

The prefix forms a verb with a passive meaning from a simple-word verb:

dElEn 'see'	didElEn 'seen (by)'
tandor 'plant'	ditandor 'planted'
kirem 'send'	dikirem 'sent'
tuku 'buy'	dituku 'bought'

2.4.1.10. The Verb with taq-... ~ daq-...

This prefix, which is related to aku 'I', forms a verb with a passive meaning from a simple-word verb:

gowo 'bring'	taqgowo 'brought by me'
simpEn 'store'	taqsimpEn 'stored by me'
dol 'sell'	taqdol 'sold by me'
ganti 'change'	taqganti 'changed by me'

The use of daq-... instead of taq-... normally gives the impression of elaboration or stiltedness.

2.4.1.11. The Verb with kôq-...

This prefix, which is related to kowe 'you', forms a verb with a passive meaning from a simple-word verb:

gawe 'make'	kôqgawe 'made by you'
jiwet 'pinch'	kôqjiwet 'pinched by you'
pileh 'choose'	kôqpileh 'chosen by you'
sawân 'watch'	kôqsawân 'watched by you'

2.4.1.12. The Verb with ...-in-...

The infix forms a verb with a passive meaning from a simple-word verb:

sawân 'watch'	sinawân 'seen'
barôn 'accompany'	binarôn 'accompanied'
wanôn 'shape'	winanôn 'shaped'
sugoh 'serve'	sinugoh 'served with'

2.4.1.13. The Verb with ...-um-...

The infix forms a verb from a simple-word verb or a simple-word noun:

tandan	tumandan
sanaq	sumanaq
sEbar	sumEbar
ganton	gumanton

2.4.1.14. The Verb with ...-r-...

The infix forms a verb from a simple-word noun:

pEntôl 'knob'	prEntôl 'knobby'
tutol 'spot'	trutol 'spotty'
bEnôq 'shout'	brEnôq 'full of shouts'
jEdol 'appearance'	jrEdol 'popping up'

2.4.1.15. The Verb with ...-(n)i

This suffix forms a verb from a composed-word verb, which is formed by the affixation of any of the prefixes: 7, 9, 10, 11:

takEr 'measure'	nakEr 'measure'	nakEri 'measure repeatedly'
tugEl 'break'	ditugEl 'broken'	ditugEli 'broken into pieces'
pEntôn 'hit'	taqpEntôn 'hit by me'	taqpEntuñi 'hit by me repeatedly'
tEmbon 'mention'	kôqtEmbon 'asked by you'	kôqtEmbuñi 'you ask for a particular thing'

2.4.1.16. The Verb with ...-an

This suffix may form a verb from a simple-word verb. In combination with the prefix 8 it may also form a verb from another verb:

luṅgoh 'sit'	luṅguhan 'sitting'
turu	turón 'lie down'
lEbu 'enter'	kElEbón 'intruded'
cEmplon 'dip'	kEcEmpluñan 'entered by something'

2.4.1.17. The Verb with ...-En

The suffix forms a verb from a simple-word verb:

jupoq 'take'	jupuqEn 'Take (it)!'
pañan 'eat'	pañanEn 'Eat (it)!'
gówó 'bring'	gawanEn 'Bring (it)!'
bayar 'pay'	bayarEn 'Pay (it)!'

2.4.1.18. The Verb with ...-ó

The suffix forms a verb from a simple-word verb, or a composed-word verb formed with one of the prefixes: 9, 10, 11, or the infix 12:

turu 'sleep'	turuó 'Sleep!'
ṅgówó 'bring'	ṅgówóó 'Bring (it)!'
digówó 'carried'	digówóó 'even if carried'
taqgówó 'carried by me'	taqgówóó 'even if carried by me'
kóqgówó 'carried by you'	kóqgówóó 'even if carried by you'
ginanjar 'rewarded'	ginanjaró '(wish to God somebody) be rewarded'

2.4.1.19. The Verb with ...-ake

The suffix, always in combination with one of the prefixes: 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, or the infix 12, forms a verb from a verb:

maguru 'learn from a teacher'	maguróqake 'send someone to learn from a teacher'
njupoq 'take'	njupoqake 'take for someone'
kaṭuṭoq 'hit (by somebody)'	kaṭuṭoqake 'hit against something (by somebody)'
dijupoq 'taken'	dijupoqake 'taken for somebody'
taqtuku 'bought by me'	taqtukóqake 'bought by me for somebody'
kóqbalan 'thrown at by you'	kóqbalanake 'thrown by you at something, somebody'
sinugoh 'served with'	sinugohake 'served to somebody'

2.4.2. The Affixation of a Noun

The prefixes 1.-11. are not productive. Only a limited number of words are known to be subject to these prefixes. The rest of the prefixes are productive.

2.4.2.1. *The Noun with pari-...*

The prefix forms a noun from a simple-word noun. There are only three nouns formed this way:

wisótó 'trip'	pariwisótó 'tourism'
gawe 'work'	parigawe 'emergency'
bósó 'speech'	paribósó 'proverb'

2.4.2.2. *The Noun with pra-... ~ pEr-...*

The prefix forms a noun from a simple-word verb or noun, or a verb previously formed with the prefix 7, where the outcome is affixed with the suffix v.:

nótó 'arrange'	pranatan ~ pErnatan 'regulation'
tóndó 'sign'	pratóndó ~ pErtóndó 'omen'

2.4.2.3. *The Noun with pVw(Ns)-...*

The prefix forms a noun from a simple-word verb or noun:

āngó 'use'	pañāngó 'clothing'
utañ 'debt'	piutañ 'credit'
gawe 'work'	pañgawe 'deed'
kukoh 'sturdy'	pikukoh 'deed (document)'

2.4.2.4. *The Noun with ka-... ~ kE-...*

The prefix forms a noun from a simple-word verb. In combination with the suffix v., it forms a noun from a simple-word noun:

wEroh 'see'	kawroh 'knowledge'
arEp 'want'	karEp 'intention'
lurah 'village mayor'	kElurahan 'village mayor's office'
bupati 'regent'	kabupatén 'regency'

2.4.2.5. *The Noun with ...-an*

The suffix forms a noun from a simple-word verb or a simple-word noun. It may also be in combination with the prefix iii. to form a noun from a verb or a noun:

2.4.2.6. *The Noun with ...-(n)e*

The suffix forms a noun from a simple-word verb or noun. It may also occur in a composed-word noun. In this latter case the suffix can only follow the suffix v.:

jaran 'horse'	jarane 'the horse'
tuku 'buy'	tukune 'the purchase'

jaranan 'toy horse'	jaranane 'the toy horse'
lamaran 'proposal'	lamarane 'the proposal'

2.4.2.7. The Noun with ...-ku

This suffix, which is related to aku 'I' and mutually exclusive with the suffix vi. and viii., forms a noun from a simple-word noun or verb previously derived as a noun. It may also occur in a composed-word noun formed with the suffix v., in which case ...-ku can only follow ...-an:

kEmban 'flower'	kEmbanku 'my flower'
turu 'sleep'	turuku 'my sleep'
jaranan 'toy horse'	jarananku 'my toy horse'
lunguhan 'seat'	lunguhanku 'my seat'

2.4.2.8. The Noun with ...-mu

This suffix, which is related to kowe 'you', forms a noun from a simple-word noun or verb previously derived as a noun. It may also occur in a composed-word noun formed with the suffix v., in which case ...-mu can only follow ...-an:

omah 'house'	omahmu 'your house'
luñó 'go'	luñamu 'your going'
kluyuran 'bum around'	kluyuranmu 'your bumming around'
tulisan 'writing'	tulisanmu 'your writing'

2.4.3. The Reduplication of a Verb

The whole-word reduplication of a verb may or may not involve a phonological change of the word so reduplicated. The reduplication of the first syllable of a verb always puts a constraint on the vowel of the first syllable of the verb so reduplicated, where the vowel, being unstressed, is always E.

2.4.3.1. The Whole-word Reduplication of a Verb without Change

The following list illustrates the reduplication of the whole verb without any phonological change:

mlaku 'walk'	mlakumlaku 'take a walk'
mañan 'eat'	mañanmañan 'eat informally with other people'
tótó 'arrange'	tótótótó 'make preparations'
kóndó 'tell'	kóndókóndó 'spread (news, a secret)'

2.4.3.2. The Whole-word Reduplication of a Verb with Change

The reduplication of the whole verb with a phonological change involves the change of the vowels of the first member of the word so reduplicated:

bali 'return'	bolabali 'to and fro'
mèsEm 'smile'	mesammèsEm 'smile several times'
ñadEk 'stand'	ñodakñadEk 'stand and sit repeatedly'
mubEn 'go around'	mubanmubEn 'beat around the bush'

2.4.3.3. The Reduplication of the First Syllable of a Verb

This type of reduplication only involves bisyllabic verbs. The following list illustrates the reduplication of the first syllable of a verb:

tuku 'buy'	tEtuku 'do some shopping'
nguyu 'laugh'	ngEguyu 'laugh at'
mbedò 'tease'	mbEbedò 'tease several times'
sambat 'moan'	sEsambat 'moan repeatedly'

2.4.4. The Reduplication of a Noun

The whole-word reduplication of a noun normally involves a phonological change in affective usages only, e.g. with the meaning 'Why are you always nagging about...?', otherwise no phonological change is involved. The reduplication of the first syllable of a noun always puts a constraint on the vowel of the first syllable of the noun so reduplicated, where the vowel, being unstressed, is always E.

2.4.4.1. The Whole-word Reduplication of a Noun

The following lists illustrate the reduplication of the whole noun: Non-affective, i.e. connoting to the plurality of the reduplicated form:

wet 'tree'	wetwet 'trees'
bocah 'child'	bocahbocah 'children'
dalan 'street'	dalandalan 'streets'
wón 'man'	wónwón 'people'

Affective, i.e. connoting to some nuisance of repeated requests for the things referred to by the nouns:

duwet 'money'	duwatduwet 'money'
buku 'book'	bukabuku 'book'
laden 'knife'	lodañladen 'knife'
sEgò 'cooked rice'	sEgasEgò 'cooked rice'

2.4.4.2. The Reduplication of the First Syllable of a Noun

This type of reduplication normally involves bisyllabic nouns, although cases with nouns of more than two syllables, particularly those of the composed types, are also known. The following list illustrates such a reduplication.

paḍaṇ 'light'	pEpaḍaṇ 'enlightment'
garan 'handle'	gEgaran 'guidance'
lakōn 'story'	lElakōn 'drama'
tanduran 'plant'	tEtanduran 'a collection of plants'

2.4.5. The Combination of Verbs

There are two types of combinations which make up a composed word. The first type is a combination of a verb with another verb, normally of related meaning. The other type is a combination of a verb with a non-verb.

2.4.5.1. The Combination of a Verb with another Verb

The following list illustrates the combination of a verb with another verb:

mandĕk 'stop'	maṇu 'doubtful'	mandĕkmaṇu 'in great doubt'
andap 'low'	asōr 'low'	andapasōr 'humble'
ḍĕḍĕp 'stalk'	tiḍĕm 'quiet'	ḍĕḍĕptiḍĕm 'very quiet'
mudō 'young'	puṅgoṇ 'inexperienced'	mudōpuṅgoṇ 'uninitiated'

2.4.5.2. The Combination of a Verb with a Non-Verb

The following list illustrates the combination of a verb with a non-verb, normally a noun:

masoq 'enter'	aṇen 'wind'	masoqaṇen 'catch a cold'
gugor 'collapse'	gunoṇ 'mountain'	gugorgunoṇ 'work together without pay'
ṅgaḍo 'eat raw'	ati 'liver'	ṅgaḍoati 'cause worry'
mbalaṇ 'throw'	ulat 'countenance'	mbalaṇulat 'hint by facial gesture'

2.4.6. The Combination of Nouns

There are two types of combinations which may make up a composed noun. One is a combination of two nouns of related meanings. The other is a combination of two nouns of unrelated meanings.

2.4.6.1. The Combinations of Nouns of Related Meanings

The following list illustrates the combination of two nouns of related meanings:

sato 'animal'	kewan 'animal'	satokewan 'animal kingdom'
anaq 'child'	sadulor 'sibling'	naqdulor 'cousin'
bapaq 'father'	ibu 'mother'	bapaqibu 'parents'
kakañ 'older brother'	aði 'younger sibling'	kakañaði 'brothers'

2.4.6.2. The Combinations of Nouns of Unrelated Meanings

The following list illustrates the combination of two nouns of unrelated meanings:

tóndó 'sign'	mótó 'eye'	tóndómótó 'gift'
rójó 'king'	kóyó 'wealth'	rójókóyó 'livestock'
rójó 'king'	siñó 'lion'	rójósiñó 'gonorrhea'
kEmbañ 'flower'	lambe 'lips'	kEmbañlambe 'topic of the day'

2.5. THE NUCLEAR WORD

At the same time that a verb is established in the formation stage as the nucleus of a proposition, i.e. $S \rightarrow V$, a noun or nouns are also incorporated in the proposition, i.e. $V \rightarrow \overbrace{V}^{\text{N}}$. In this sense, the verb and the noun are nuclear words.

On the basis of its type of valence, i.e. its type of dependency relations to the noun or nouns that may accompany it in the proposition, a Javanese verb may be selectionally specified as one of the following: 1. State, 2. Action, 3. Process, 4. Action-Process, 5. State-Experiential, 6. State-Benefactive, 7. State-Locative, 8. Action-Experiential, 9. Action-Benefactive, 10. Action-Locative, 11. Process-Experiential, 12. Process-Benefactive, 13. Process-Locative, 14. Action-Process-Experiential, 15. Action-Process-Benefactive, 16. Action-Process-Locative.

2.5.1. Further Specifications of a Nuclear Word

Each of the verbs mentioned in 2.5. is specified further by a lexical unit, which Chafe calls Verb Root. The lexical unit which occurs within a noun is called by Chafe Noun Root (1970b:108). In the surface representation, Chafe's Root is apparently reflected by our Simple Word, which is defined on the basis of the fact that it contains nothing else except itself.

As mentioned in 2.1., the inflectional specification, which applies to a word already specified selectionally and lexically, is basically

a semantic notion. Its relation to the surface reflection by means of affixation is of secondary significance.

There are three types of inflectional specifications for a Javanese verb: voice, aspect, mode. The voice is either active or passive. The active voice, normally specifying an action verb, puts the agent noun as the performer of the action to the fore. The passive voice, on the other hand, highlights the patient noun as the undergoer of some change in its condition.

The aspect specification of a verb is either terminative, transitory or iterative. The terminative inflectional unit specifies the information conveyed by the verb, i.e. state, process, or action, as something final. The transitory inflectional unit characterises the state, process or action as something which will take place in some limited span of time, where some cessation or change is expected. The iterative inflectional unit specifies the verb as having a capacity or nature of repetition.

The mode specification of a verb is either significative, unreal or hortatory. The significative inflectional unit specifies the verb as factual, whether it is affirmative or negative is of secondary matter. The unreal specification of a verb refers to a contrast between what is factual and what is wished for or what is not likely to materialise. The hortatory specification of a verb refers to the persuasion, command, or request indicated by the verb.

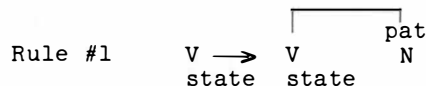
With the exception for the units terminative and transitory, the inflectional units may be reflected in the surface representation by some affixation. No specification within a verb in terms of what is known in English as tense is known in Javanese.

The inflectional units which may occur with a Javanese noun are definite and plural, the former normally being reflectable in the surface representation, the latter only optionally being reflectable in the surface representation, generally by means of reduplication.

The fourth type of specificational unit, i.e. the derivational unit, is also a semantic notion, and it serves the function of converting any of the 16 verbs or any noun into another verb or another noun affecting the change of the configurations of their semantic structures.

2.5.2. The State Verb

A state verb necessitates a patient noun, which indicates what it is in the state referred to by the verb. This may be shown by the following rule, and exemplified by sentences (1) - (4):



- (1) aku kEsEl
I-tired
'I am tired'
- (2) klambiku rEgEt
my shirt-dirty
'My shirt is dirty'
- (3) wEduse mati
the goat-dead
'The goat is dead'
- (4) kEndile pEcah
the pot-broken
'The pot is broken'

In these state verbs, the inflectional specification in terms of aspect is irrelevant, since a state is supposed to be terminative. Obviously, the inflectional specification in terms of voice does not apply. Hortatory, which normally applies to some action or process, also does not apply here. There remain only the inflectional specifications in terms of significative mode or unreal mode. The verbs in (1) - (4) are specified as significative, in that they convey a factual state, and not an unreality or command, persuasion, wish, or request. This significative unit is not reflected by any affixation in the surface representation. The state verb alone may then be indicated in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule \#1a} \quad \begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{state} \end{array} \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{state} \\ L \\ \hline \emptyset \\ \text{significative} \end{array} \right]$$

The unreal specification, which is mutually exclusive with the significative specification, may characterise a state verb and is reflected by the suffix ...-ò, which also reflects the hortatory specification (vide 2.4.1.18.). The verb so characterised normally represents an elliptical sentence, where the patient noun related to it is not present in the surface sentence, and where the sentence is subordinated to another. In speech, the verb so characterised is usually pronounced with a rising, suspended intonation, which may be symbolised as: / .

Examples:

- (5) kEsElò / aku wes lèrèn
if tired-I-already-stop
'Had I been tired, I would have stopped'
- (6) rEgEtò / klambiku taqtiṅgal
if dirty-my shirt-left by me
'I would have left my shirt, had it been dirty'

- (7) matiò / aku malah bunah
if dead-I-even-happy
'I would have been happy, if it had been dead'
- (8) gEdeò / aku ora wEdi
if big-I-not-afraid
'Even if he were big, I would not be afraid'

The state verb inflectionally specified as unreal may be indicated in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule \#1b} \quad V \xrightarrow{\text{state}} \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{state} \\ L \\ \hline \dots - \phi \\ \text{unreal} \end{array} \right]$$

2.5.3. The Action Verb

An action verb necessitates an Agent noun, which is the instigator of the action referred to by the verb. This may be shown by the following rule, and exemplified by sentences (9) - (12):

$$\text{Rule \#2} \quad V \xrightarrow{\text{action}} \left[\begin{array}{c} V \quad \text{agt} \\ \text{action} \quad N \end{array} \right]$$

- (9) adiku nguyu
my younger sibling-laugh
'My younger brother laughs'
- (10) baker nEmbor
Bakir-work overtime
'Bakir works overtime'
- (11) bojone njEret
his (her) spouse-scream
'His wife screams'
- (12) anaqmu njogèt
your child-dance
'Your child dances'

An action verb may be specified inflectionally in terms of voice, which in (9) - (12) is active, and reflected in the surface by the prefix (a)Ns-... With this active inflectional specification, the action verb may be indicated in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule \#2a} \quad V \xrightarrow{\text{action}} \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ L \\ \hline (a)Ns-... \\ \text{active} \end{array} \right]$$

An action verb is subject to an inflectional specification in terms

of the Hortatory unit, which may be reflected in the surface by the suffix ...-ò (vide 2.4.1.18.; 2.5.2.). The agent noun in a hortatory proposition may not always be reflected in the surface representation. As in English, the agent noun is the interlocutor:

- (13) kowe ñguyò
you-laugh!
'Laugh!'
- (14) bEni iki ñLemburò
night-this-work overtime
'Work overtime tonight!'
- (15) njEritò señ sEru
scream!-which-loud
'Scream as loud as you can!'
- (16) njogètò señ apeq
dance!-which-good
'Dance as well as you can!'

The action verb specified inflectionally as active and hortatory may be indicated in the following rule:

Rule #2b	V —>>> action	V action L
		(a)Ns-... ...-ò active hortatory

2.5.4. The Process Verb

A process verb necessitates a patient noun, but differing from the patient noun that may occur with a state verb, this patient noun undergoes a change in its condition. This may be shown by the following rule, and exemplified by sentences (17) - (20):

Rule #3	V —>>> process	V	pat N
		process	

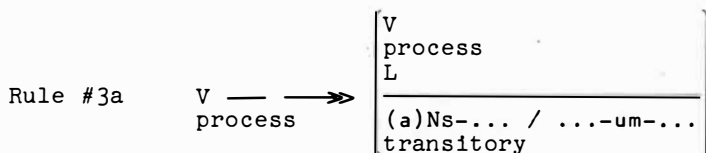
- (17) pEñne kumamban
the chest-float
'The chest is floating'
- (18) tañgaku ñlalu
my neighbour-commit suicide
'My neighbour committed suicide'
- (19) kuncine cumantèl
the key-caught on
'The key is in the door'

- (20) kulite mrEntol
 his skin-goosepimply
 'His skin is goose-pimply'

A process verb is normally reflected in the surface by a composed word, involving the affixation of the prefix (a)Ns-... as shown in (18) and (20), or the infix ...-um-... as shown in (17) and (19).

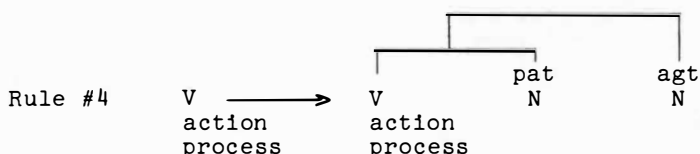
The inflectional unit that may specify a process verb is transitory, for the reason that a process is understood as something that will end within a certain span of time.

The process verb can now be indicated further by the following rule (where / = or):



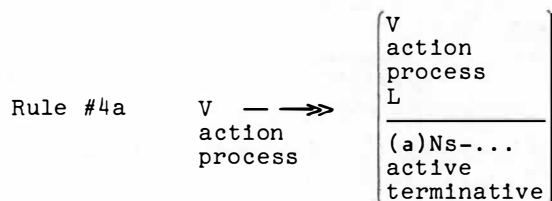
2.5.5. The Action-Process Verb

An action-process verb necessitates both agent and patient nouns. This may be shown in the following rule, and exemplified by sentences (21) - (24):



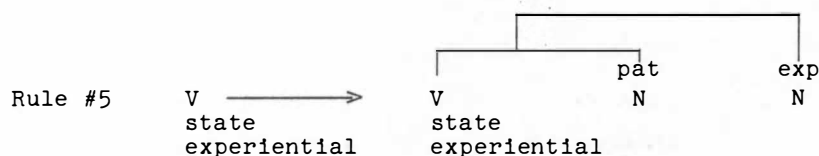
- (21) bapaq mEndEm uwoh
 father-bury-trash
 'Father is burrying trash'
- (22) gógór ñimpEn pElEm
 Gogor-store-mango fruit
 'Gogor is storing mango fruits'
- (23) sardi ñóbbón dami
 Sardi-burn-straw
 'Sardi burning straw'
- (24) ibu nambal kañóqku
 mother-patch-my pants
 'Mother is patching my pants'

The verbs in (21) - (24) are active, reflected by the prefix (a)Ns-..., and terminative, in that the action of the agent noun involves the changed condition of the patient noun. Specified inflectionally in this way, the action-process verb may be indicated in the following rule:



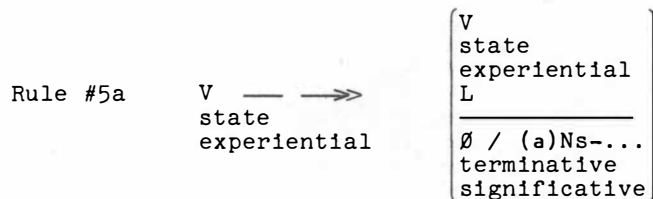
2.5.6. The State-Experiential Verb

An experiential verb necessitates an experiencer noun, which undergoes a psychological experience. This may be shown in the following rule, and exemplified by sentences (25) - (28):



- (25) aku bōsEn suwarane
I-bored-his voice
'I am bored with his voice'
- (26) ibu kañEn kowe
mother-long for-you
'Mother is longing for you'
- (27) adiku brai sandañan
my younger sibling-obsessed-clothing
'My younger brother is obsessed by good clothing'
- (28) bojoku hiðam sEmõñkõ
my spouse-crave for-melon
'My wife is craving for a melon'

A state-experiential verb, as shown in (25) - (27), may be represented in the surface by a simple word. In (28) it involves the prefix (a)Ns-... realised by ð-..., although for some speakers the nasal is ñ. The verbs in (25) - (27) are specified as significant and terminative in terms of their mode and aspect respectively. Specified in this way, the state-experiential verb may be indicated in the following rule:



2.5.7. The State-Benefactive Verb

A benefactive verb necessitates a beneficiary noun, specified as the one in the state of possession, or the one who undergoes gain or loss in the transfer of an object (Cook 1972b:17). This may be shown in the following rule, and exemplified by sentences (29) - (32):

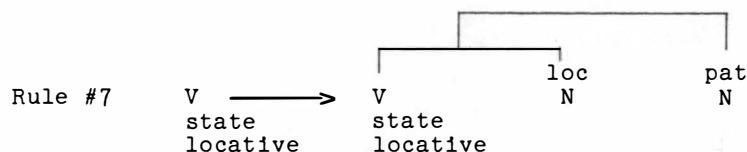
- Rule #6 V \longrightarrow V pat ben
 state state N N
 benefactive benefactive
- (29) gembõñ duwe layañan
 Gembong-have-kite
 'Gembong has a kite'
- (30) kayune ñEmu bañu
 the wood-contain-water
 'The wood is water-logged'
- (31) sutõ sugeh utañ
 Suto-rich-debt
 'Suto lives in debt'
- (32) añgrëq iki kurañ bañu
 orchid-this-lack-water
 'This orchid is in need of water'

The beneficiary noun is always the surface subject. The state-benefactive verbs in (29) - (32), as in other sentences, are represented in the surface by a simple word. The relevant inflectional specifications of a state-benefactive verb are in terms of the units terminative, significative, which occur in (29) - (32), and unreal, which does not. Specified in this way, the state-benefactive verb may be indicated in the following rule:

- Rule #6a V \longrightarrow V
 state state
 benefactive benefactive
- | |
|---------------|
| V |
| state |
| benefactive |
| L |
| Ø |
| terminative |
| significative |

2.5.8. The State-Locative Verb

A locative verb necessitates a locative noun, specified in terms of the location of an object or change of location (Cook 1972b:17). This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (33) - (36):



- (33) ira ònò njEro omah
Ira-be-inside-house
'Ira is in the house'
- (34) ðĩkliwe ònò nduwor pògò
the stool-be-above-kitchen rack
'The stool is on the kitchen rack'
- (35) guntĩne ònò ñisòr ambèn
the scissors-be-under-bed
'The scissors are under the bed'
- (36) asune ònò sanden sumor
the dog-be-beside-well
'The dog is beside the well'

Here the state-locative verb is reflected by the word ònò 'be, exist'. The word ònò is also frequently used as an initial element of a complex preposition, e.g.:

sarju lóro ònò en̄ rumahsaket
Sarju-sick-ònò-in-hospital
'Sarju is sick, he is in the hospital now'

The structure of the locative noun required by a state-locative verb is: X Y^{1Nc}, where X is a euphonic preposition (vide p.73); Y is a peripheral word referring to a locative parameter such as jEro 'inside', duwor 'above', isòr 'under', sanden 'beside'; ^{1Nc} is a locative N.

The euphonic element is en̄ 'in' or saq-...-(n)e, thus saqY(n)e. With a human locative noun, the part of X that is represented in the surface is only ...-(n)e, and saq-... may be deleted, thus:

(eñ)(saq)-Y-(n)e loc
 N
 +human

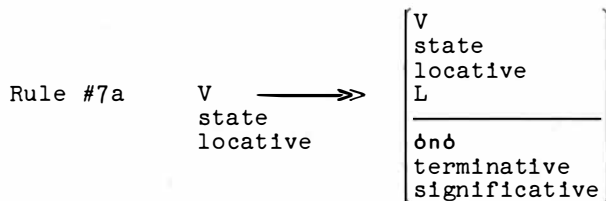
as may be shown in the following examples:

(eñ)(saq)mburine bapaq 'behind father'
 (eñ)(saq)n̄uwure samijan 'above Samijan'
 (eñ)(saq)n̄isóre ibu 'under mother'
 (eñ)(saq)n̄arEpe gógór 'before Gogor'
 (eñ)(saq)tEñEne sardi 'on Sardi's right'
 (eñ)(saq)kiwane mbaqyu 'on the left of older sister'
 (eñ)(saq)cEđaqe buleq 'near aunt'
 (eñ) sandiñe buguru 'beside the teacher'

The ending ...-(n)e is mutually exclusive with ...-ku < aku 'I' and ...-mu < kowe 'you', and the nasal occurs after a vowel only. As we also see, a homorganic nasal is always present before a vowel and a voiced occlusive, but not before a voiceless occlusive and a fricative. Furthermore, the element saq-... does not occur before sandeñ 'beside'.

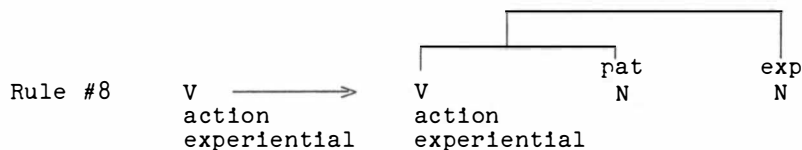
With a non-state locative verb requiring a locative noun that involves no origin or goal, the locative marker is also reflected in the surface by ònò, optionally followed by eñ 'in, at', i.e. ònò eñ ~ n̄eñ, e.g. sardi ñambotgawe ònò eñ pabreq, sardi ñambotgawe n̄eñ pabreq, or sardi ñambotgawe ònò pabreq 'Sardi works in a factory'.

The verbs in (33) - (36) are inflectionally specified as terminative and significative. Specified in this way, the statelocative verb may be indicated in the following rule:



2.5.9. The Action-Experiential Verb

An action-experiential verb necessitates an experiencer noun and a patient noun. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (37) - (40):



- (37) gembõñ hrEnEni sumi
Gembong-reproach-Sumi
'Gembong reproaches Sumi'
- (38) ðewèqe ñEmòhi aku
he-refuse-I
'He refuses me'
- (39) kancaku ñEsiri aḍimu
my friend-have a crush on-your younger sibling
'My friend has a crush on your little sister'
- (40) mbaqyumu ñgEṭiñi aku
your elder sister-hate-I
'Your elder sister hates me'

These action-experiential verbs involve the affixations of the prefix (a)Ns-... and the suffix ...-(n)i, which reflect transitive specification (vide 2.6.1.2.). These affixes may also reflect the inflectional specification in terms of the iterative unit. With some verbs, the affixations of (a)Ns-... and ...-(n)i may give rise to ambiguous sentences. As with ...-(n)e, the nasal occurs only after a vowel (vide p.36).

The action-experiential verbs may also be represented by their simple forms, i.e. srEnEn 'reproach', Emòh 'refuse', ser 'intend, have a crush on', and gEṭen 'hate'. In this usage, a peripheral word, i.e. karo 'with, towards', is obligatorily to be used between the verb and the patient noun:

- (37a) gembõñ srEnEn karo sumi *'Gembong reproaches Sumi'*
- (38a) ðewèqe Emòh karo aku *'He refuses me'*
- (39a) kancaku ser karo aḍimu *'My friend has a crush on your little sister'*
- (40a) mbaqyumu gEṭen karo aku *'Your elder sister hates me'*

The verbs in (37) - (40) and in (37a) - (40a) are specified as terminative and significative, and obviously also active. Specified in this way, the action-experiential verb may be indicated in the following rule:

Rule #8a	V → action experiential	<table><tr><td data-bbox="745 1330 760 1349">V</td><td data-bbox="745 1354 924 1422">action experiential L</td></tr><tr><td data-bbox="745 1446 760 1465">[</td><td data-bbox="745 1446 1035 1565">(a)Ns-... ~ [Ø karo] ...-(n)i active terminative significative</td></tr></table>	V	action experiential L	[(a)Ns-... ~ [Ø karo] ...-(n)i active terminative significative
V	action experiential L					
[(a)Ns-... ~ [Ø karo] ...-(n)i active terminative significative					

2.5.10. The Action-Benefactive Verb

An action-benefactive verb necessitates a beneficiary noun and a patient noun. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (41) - (44):

- Rule #9 V \longrightarrow V pat ben
 action action N N
 benefactive benefactive
- (41) leo sanu ròti
 Leo-provide-bread
 'Leo provides himself with bread'
- (42) ibu kirem layan
 mother-send-letter
 'Mother sends a letter'
- (43) bapaq uron kayu
 father-contribute-timber
 'Father contributes timber'
- (44) gógór sEdiò ðuwet
 Gogor-prepare-money
 'Gogor is prepared with some money'

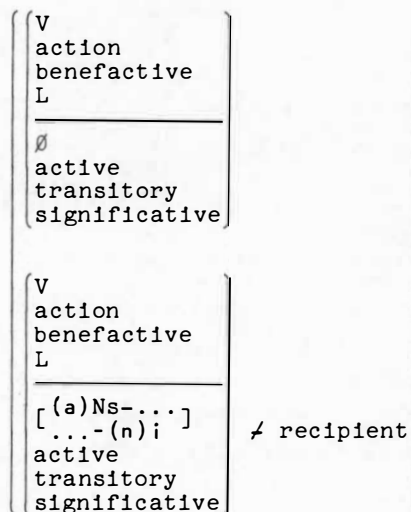
The extension of the valence of an action-benefactive verb from one relation to one beneficiary noun to two relations to two beneficiary nouns, one functioning as the benefactor and the other as the recipient in the transfer action, is reflected in the surface by the prefix (a)Ns-... and the suffix ...-(n)i, which also reflect iterative specification (vide p.37). This may be shown in the following sentences:

- (41a) leo nanòni ròti gembón 'Leo provides Gembong with bread'
 (42a) ibu nìrimi layan bapaq 'Mother sends father a letter'
 (43a) bapaq nuruni kayu yókò 'Father contributes timber to Yoko'
 (44a) gógór nEdiani ðuwet leo 'Gogor gets some money ready for Leo'

The verbs in sentences (41) - (44) and (41a) - (44a) are specified as active, transitory, and significative. Specified in this way, the action-benefactive verb may be indicated in the following rule, where the extension of the verb valence to two beneficiary nouns is indicated by : / recipient:

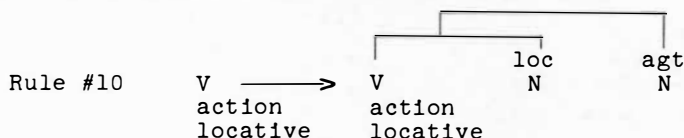
Rule #9a

V —————>>
 action
 benefactive



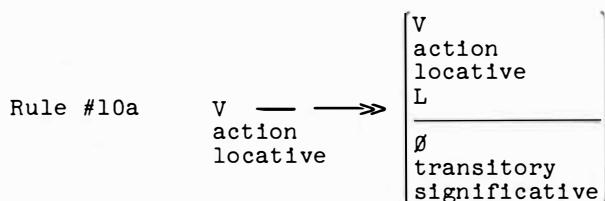
2.5.11. The Action-Locative Verb

An action-locative verb necessitates an agent noun and a locative noun, designating origin or goal. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (45) - (48):



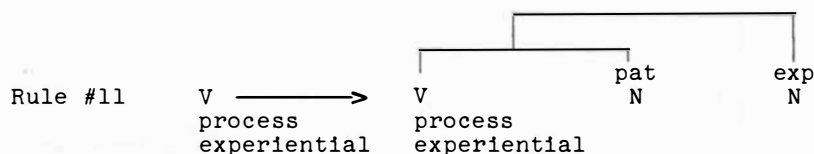
- (45) adiku budal mEhañ irian
my younger sibling-depart-to-Irian
 'My younger brother departs for Irian'
- (46) anaqku muleh sökò sEkolahan
my child-go home-from-school
 'My child returns from school'
- (47) paqlurah luñò mEhañ pasar
the village mayor-go-to-market
 'The mayor goes to the market'
- (48) gògòr dolan mEhañ alonaton
Gogor-go out to play-to-square
 'Gogor goes to the square to play'

An action-locative verb as exemplified in (45) - (48) is not subject to a voice inflectional specification. The verbs in (45) - (48) are obviously specified as transitory. Furthermore, they are also specified as significative. Specified this way, the action-locative verb may be indicated in the following rule:



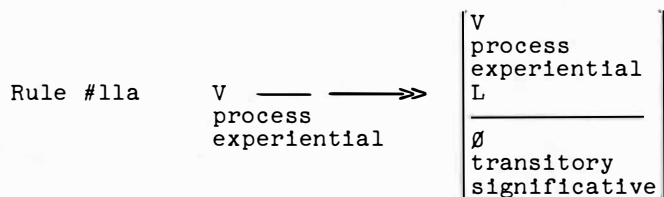
2.5.12. The Process-Experiential Verb

The experiencer noun required by a process-experiential verb, which is normally reflected by a simple word, refers to a noun that undergoes a psychological experience, and generally is realised as the surface subject of the sentence. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (49) - (52):



- (49) aku elen^o critamu
I-remember-your story
'I remember your story'
- (50) tangaku lali candaqane
my neighbour-forget-the solution
'My neighbour forgets the solution'
- (51) simbah panlen^o rupaku
grandparent-not recognise-my countenance
'Grandmother does not recognise me'
- (52) prasEti^o kulin^o suwaramu
Prasetyo-familiar-your voice
'Prasetyo is familiar with your voice'

A voice inflectional specification is out of the question with a Javanese process-experiential verb. The verbs in (49) - (52) are specified as transitory and significative. Specified in this way, the process-experiential verb may be indicated in the following rule:



2.5.13. The Process-Benefactive Verb

The beneficiary noun required by a process-benefactive verb refers to what is in the state of possession, or undergoes gain or loss in the transfer of an object, indicated by the patien noun. A process-benefactive verb is normally reflected by a simple word. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (53) - (56):

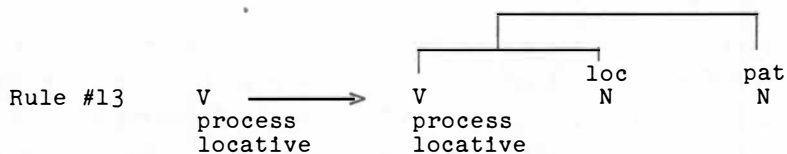
- Rule #12
- | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|-----|-----|
| V | → | V | pat | ben |
| process | | process | N | N |
| benefactive | | benefactive | | |
- (53) samijan kalah maen
Samijan-lose-game
'Samijan lost in the gamble'
- (54) bapaq lulos ujian
father-pass-examination
'Father passed his exam'
- (55) gōgōr mEnañ lotre
Gogor-win-lottery
'Gogor wins a lottery'
- (56) salamon wes olēh jōdo
Salamun-already-get-partner
'Salamun has got his girl'

The verbs in (53) - (56) are not subject to a passive specification. They are all specified as terminative and significative. Specified in this way, the process-benefactive verb may be indicated in the following rule:

- Rule #12a
- | | | |
|-------------|---|---------------|
| V | → | V |
| process | | process |
| benefactive | | benefactive |
| | | L |
| | | ∅ |
| | | terminative |
| | | significative |

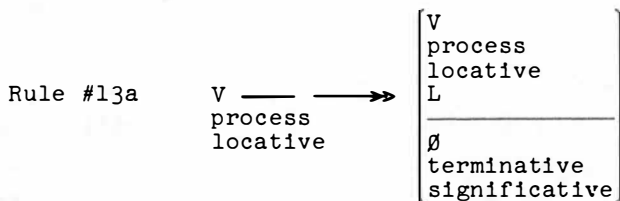
2.5.14. The Process-Locative Verb

The locative noun required by a process-locative verb refers to a location or a change of the location of the patient noun. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (57) - (60), where the verbs are represented by a simple word:



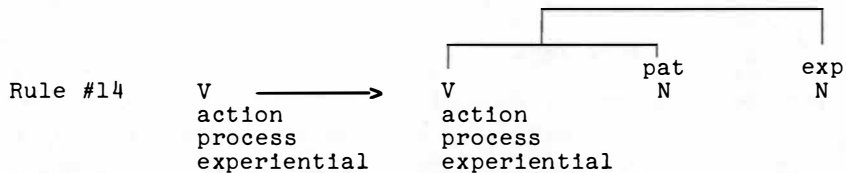
- (57) sakane kenter mEñañ sEgòrò
the pillar-washed away-to-sea
 'The pillar is washed away to the sea'
- (58) tasku kèri nèn klatèn
my bag-left-in-Klaten
 'My bag was left in Klaten'
- (59) srEñeñene ańslop eń sEgòrò
the sun-disappear-in-sea
 'The sun disappear in the sea'
- (60) iwaqe amblEs eń bańu
the fish-go down-in-water
 'The fish disappears in the water'

The verbs in (57) - (60) are not subject to a passive specification. They are specified as terminative and significative. The process-locative verb may be indicated in the following rule:



2.5.15. The Action-Process-Experiential Verb

An action-process-experiential verb is subject to a voice specification. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (61) - (64), where the verb can be reflected by a simple word, i.e. (61) and (62), or by a composed word involving the affix (a)Ns-...:



- (61) bapaq takón omahmu
father-ask-your house
 'Father asks where you live'

- (62) bagyò sinau pEncaq
Bagyo-learn-self-defense
 'Bagyo learns self-defense'
- (63) simbah ndoñeñ kancel
grandparent-narrate-mousedeer
 'Grandmother tells the story of mousedeer'
- (64) ibu mulañ aljabar
mother-teach-algebra
 'Mother teaches algebra'

The verbs in (61) - (64) are inflectionally specified as active, transitory, and significative. This may be indicated in the following rule:

Rule #14a	V	→	V
			action process experiential L
	action process experiential		Ø / (a)Ns-... active transitory significative

2.5.16. The Action-Process-Benefactive Verb

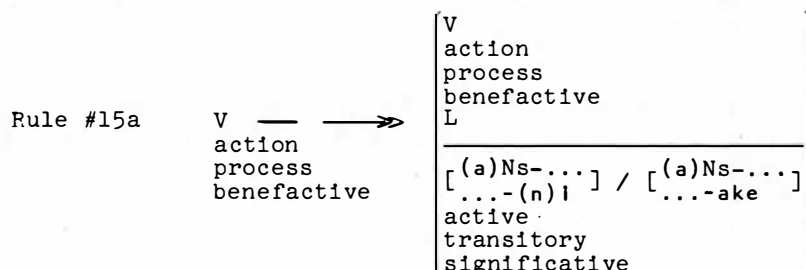
An action-process-benefactive verb requires an agent noun, a beneficiary noun and a patient noun. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (65) - (68), where an active specification applies and is reflected either by the prefix (a)Ns-... in combination with the suffix ...-ake, characterising most of Javanese benefactive verbs, or by the prefix (a)Ns-... in combination with the suffix ...-(n)i:

Rule #15	V	→				
			V	pat N	ben N	agt N
	action process benefactive		action process benefactive			

- (65) ibu nukòqake sEpatu ira
mother-buy-shoes-Ira
 'Mother buys shoes for Ira'
- (66) sumi mènèhi baloñ bòi
Sumi-give-bone-Boy
 'Sumi gives Boy (dog) a bone'
- (67) ibu ngawèqake kałòq gembòñ
mother-make-pants-Gembong
 'Mother makes pants for Gembong'

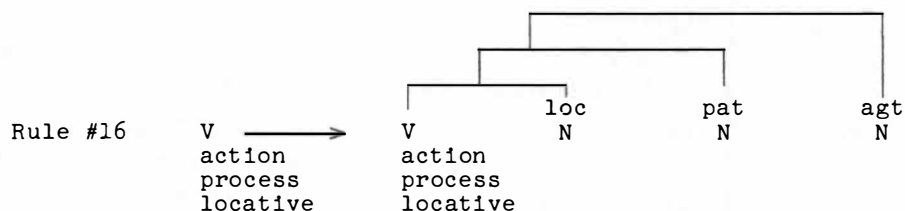
- (68) ibu maṅsaqake baqmi bapaq
mother-cook-noodle-father'
'Mother cooks noodles for father'

In addition to the active specification, the verbs in (63) - (68) are also specified as transitory and significative. This may be indicated in the following rule:



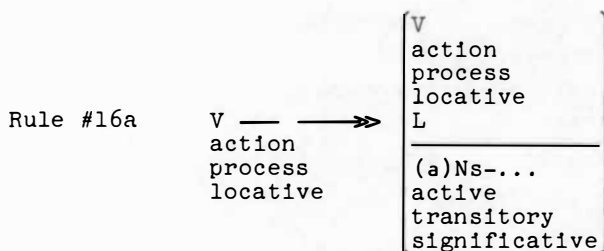
2.5.17. The Action-Process-Locative Verb

An action-process-locative verb necessitates a patient noun, which functions as the undergoer of a change of location as well as of condition. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (69) - (72):



- (69) bapaq ḥaṅkeṅ tas mEḥaṅ toko
father-carry-bag-to-store
'Father carries a bag to the story'
- (70) leo ḥelēḥ caṅker eṅ ḍuwor mejò
Leo-put-cup-in-above-table
'Leo puts a cup on the table'
- (71) luwi ḥusoṅ mEsen mEḥaṅ pawòn
Luwi-lug-machine-to-kitchen
'Luwi lugs the sewing machine to the kitchen'
- (72) baker nunton bòi mEḥaṅ kali
Bakir-take by the leash-Boy-to-river
'Bakir takes Boy to the river'

The verbs in (69) - (72) are specified as active, and this is reflected by the prefix (a)Ns-... Furthermore, the verbs are specified as transitory and significative. This may be indicated in the following rule:



2.5.18. The Specification of a Noun

The selectional specification of a verb, as we have seen, may be related in some way to the surface representation by means of an affixation. On the other hand, the selectional specification of a noun as patient, agent, experiencer, beneficiary, or locative does not involve any affixation. The affixation of a noun is of a low order, since it has only to do with inflectional and derivational specifications.

Chafe's six selectional units for the English noun, i.e. Count, Potent, Animate, Human, Feminine, Unique (1970b:108-118; 198), which are independent of the valence of the verb to which the noun is related, are applicable to Javanese.

2.5.18.1. Count Specification

A count noun is susceptible to counting by means of a numeral. This notion is based on the assumption that a count noun belongs to a class of individual nouns, each is differentiable from another. A non-count noun usually involves a measure or counter, where a numeral is only directly related to this measure or counter, which functions as a count noun.

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of a count-noun:

- (73) *simen duwe nèkEr papat*
Simin-have-marble-four
'Simin has four marbles'
- (74) *asu loro iku duwèqku*
dog-two-that-my possession
'Those two dogs are mine'
- (75) *gògòr tuku layañan limò*
Gogor-buy-kite-five
'Gogor buys five kites'
- (76) *sariden ñuñdoh katès sEpuloh*
Saridin-pick-papaya-ten
'Saridin picks ten papayas'

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of a non-count noun, where a numeral plus a counter are required:

- (84) gEnine ñóóóñ gubok
 the fire-burn-hut
 '*The fire burns down the hut*'

In these sentences, kuceñku 'my cat' and pulisi kuwi 'that policeman' are specified as agent, animate, count, and potent, whereas bahune 'the water' and gEnine 'the fire' are apparently specified as agent, inanimate, non-count, and potent. Furthermore, tikos 'mouse' and maleñ 'thief' are also susceptible to a selectional specification as potent, although in (82) and (83) they are not so specified.

Without taking the animate specification into consideration, Rule #17 may be modified as follows:

$$\text{Rule \#18} \quad N \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \\ N \\ \text{potent} \\ N \\ \text{count} \\ \text{potent} \end{bmatrix}$$

2.5.18.3. Animate Specification

An animate noun is specified as some object that would fall into the general category of animals (Chafe 1970b:110). The animate feature is only relevant if the noun has been previously specified as count and potent.

The consequence of this animate specification is that the last part of Rule #18 is subject to an optional animate specification. This may be indicated in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule \#19} \quad \begin{bmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \\ \text{potent} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \\ \text{potent} \\ \text{animate} \end{bmatrix}$$

2.5.18.4. Human Specification

A noun that is selectionally specified as animate may entail an optional specification as Human. There is a difference between English and Javanese as regards the implication of the human specification on the pronominalisation.

In English, while there are constraints regarding the pronominalisation of a noun, i.e. with certain limits human nouns are related to human pronouns, a noun is always related to its proper substitute.

In Javanese, only human nouns are susceptible to pronominalisation. There are fundamentally only three personal pronouns: aku 'I', kowe 'you', dèwèqe 'he, she', and there is one personal interrogative

pronoun: sòpò 'who', and for any other noun the interrogative substitute is òpò 'what' or a combination with Endi 'where' (a discussion of the equivalents of these pronouns is given in Chapter 4).

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of a human noun and a non-human animate noun and the pronominalisation of the human noun, where # refers to a pause or a boundary, parentheses refer to an optional occurrence:

- (85) asuku ditabraq mobil # (asuku) saiki mati
my dog-hit-car-my dog-now-dead
'My dog was hit by a car. He is dead now.'
- (86) anaqku lunò tanpò pamet # ðewèqe duroñ mañan
my child-go-without-goodbye-she-not yet-eat
'My child went without saying goodbye. She has not eaten anything.'
- (87) omahku ònò eñ sòlò # omahku iku ora gÈde
my house-be-in-Sala-my house-that-not-big
'I have a house in Sala. It is not big.'
- (88) kancakancaku tÈkò # kancakancaku mau wadòn kabèh
my friends-come-my friends-forementioned-female-all
'My friends are coming. They are all girls.'

A Javanese noun that is specified as human and plural is not pronominalisable. This is indicated in (88). With the human specification incorporated into the animate noun, Rule #19 is to be modified into the following:

$$\text{Rule \#20} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{count} \\ \text{potent} \\ \text{animate} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{count} \\ \text{potent} \\ \text{animate} \\ \text{human} \end{array} \right]$$

The pronominalisation of a noun may then be indicated in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule \#21} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{human} \\ \text{single} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \text{pronoun}$$

2.5.18.5. Feminine Specification

Gender is in general not reflectable in the surface representation of a noun by affixation. There are a number of nouns which are inherently specified as masculine or feminine. The following are illustrative of them:

- prawan 'unmarried girl'
 jòkò 'bachelor'
 rònðò 'widow'
 ðudò 'widower'

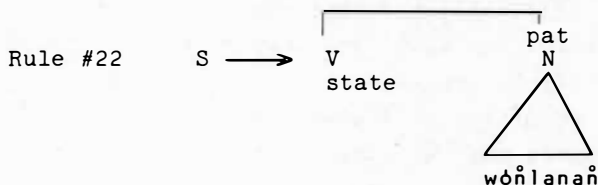
paman 'uncle'
 bibi 'aunt'

In most cases a state verb is used to specify the sex of the noun. The state verb is either of the pairs: (a) lanan 'male' : wadon 'female'; (b) jalEr 'male' : estri 'female'; (c) kakon 'male' : putri 'female'. Pairs (b) and (c) will be our concern in Chapter 4.

The basic proposition where these sex-specifying verbs occur is summarised in Rule #1 (vide p.28), which produces such sentences as:

- (89) wõn kuwi lanan
 person-that-male
 'That person is male'
- (90) wõn kuwi wadon
 person-that-female
 'That person is female'

Sentences (89) and (90) are then reducible to a noun by means of an appropriate nominalisation transformational rule, as a part of another rule that may embed this noun into another sentence where, for example, a state verb serves as its nucleus. This may be shown in the following rule and exemplified by sentences (91) and (92):



- (91) wõnlanan kuwi lóró
 man-that-sick
 'That man is sick'
- (92) wõnlanan kuwi pamanku
 man-that-my uncle
 'That man is my uncle'

There are also affixations which occur in a limited number of nouns specified as human. These are ...-man or ...-wan to indicate masculine vs. ...-wati to indicate feminine, and ...-ó to indicate masculine vs. ...-i to indicate feminine.

Chafe finds that an English noun reveals a marked indicator for feminine and an unmarked indicator for masculine. Chafe's notation feminine is useful for indicating the specification of a Javanese animate noun as indicated in the following rules (where affixations mentioned in the preceding paragraph are excluded):

Rule #23 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ \text{animate} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ +\text{Fem} \end{array} \right) \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ -\text{Fem} \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right]$

Rule #24 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ -\text{Fem} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow N + \text{lanañ}$

Rule #25 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ +\text{Fem} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow N + \text{wadón}$

2.5.18.6. Unique Specification

A human noun may refer to a particular individual such as gógór 'Gogor', hartónò 'Hartono', aminah 'Aminah', each of which within itself is not susceptible to counting, and as such unique.

In general, a unique noun is a human noun and represented in the surface by a proper name. In some cases, however, a non-human noun may also be specified as unique. This is true with a few domestic animals which may be given names such as bòi 'Boy', kEmes 'Thursday', manes 'Sweet'. With these nouns, no personal pronominalisation applies.

With all the selectional specifications except those of agent, patient, benefactive, experiencer, locative, and taking into consideration some contingency upon particular cases such as shown in (81) - (84), the specifications of a noun that will eventually convey the appropriate lexical specifications may be indicated in the following rules:

Rule #26 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ -\text{count} \\ -\text{potent} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{lEmah 'soil', gule 'stew', jarañ 'hot water', ...}$

Rule #27 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ +\text{count} \\ -\text{potent} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{tañgol 'dike', gubok 'hut', capeñ 'hat', ...}$

Rule #28 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ -\text{count} \\ +\text{potent} \\ -\text{animate} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{bañu 'water', gEni 'fire', banjer 'flood', ...}$

Rule #29 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ +\text{count} \\ +\text{potent} \\ -\text{animate} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{kali 'river', óyót 'root', watu 'stone', ...}$

Rule #30 $\left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ +\text{animate} \\ -\text{human} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{asu 'dog', ulò 'snake', dórò 'pigeon', ...}$

$$\text{Rule \#31} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +animate \\ -feminine \\ -unique \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +lanan \end{pmatrix} \\ \begin{pmatrix} N \\ -lanan \\ +human \\ -feminine \\ -unique \end{pmatrix} \end{pmatrix}$$

$$\text{Rule \#32} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +lanan \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{wónlanan 'man', jaranlanan 'male horse', kuceñlanan 'tomcat', ...}$$

$$\text{Rule \#33} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ -lanan \\ +human \\ -feminine \\ -unique \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{jókò 'bachelor', ðuðò 'widower', paman 'uncle', ...}$$

$$\text{Rule \#34} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +animate \\ +feminine \\ -unique \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +wadón \end{pmatrix} \\ \begin{pmatrix} N \\ -wadón \\ +human \\ +feminine \\ -unique \end{pmatrix} \end{pmatrix}$$

$$\text{Rule \#35} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +wadón \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{wónwadón 'woman', jaranwadón 'mare', gajahwadón 'female elephant', ...}$$

$$\text{Rule \#36} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ -wadón \\ +human \\ +feminine \\ -unique \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{prawán 'unmarried girl', rónðò 'widow', bibi 'aunt', ...}$$

$$\text{Rule \#37} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +unique \\ +feminine \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{sumi 'Sumi', aminah 'Aminah', siti 'Siti', ...}$$

$$\text{Rule \#38} \quad \begin{pmatrix} N \\ +unique \\ -feminine \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{gógór 'Gogor', jónò 'Jono', baker 'Bakir', ...}$$

There are two pairs of nouns that seem to deserve a treatment as an exceptional case. They are jago 'rooster' and babón 'hen', and tuhu 'male night bird' and koleq 'female night bird', where a contrast between feminine and masculine is inherently incorporated within the nouns. There are also such nouns as bandòt 'male goat' and pEmacEk 'siring head of livestock', whose limited scope of meaning does not seem to call for a generalised rule.

2.5.19. Definite Specification

A definite noun is a noun whose identity is assumed to have been known. In this sense, personal pronouns and nouns involving affixations which indicate personal possessions are definite. The specification of a noun as definite may coincide with its topicalisation, i.e. the focus it receives in the semantic structure that is responsible for its shifting to the front position in the surface representation.

The last nouns in sentences (93) and (94) are not specified as definite. Sentences (95) and (96) show the same nouns specified as definite.

- (93) aku wEroh sapi
I-see-cow
'I see a cow'
- (94) ðewèqe njupoq buku
he-take-book
'He takes a book'
- (95) sapine luñó
the cow-go
'The cow goes away'
- (96) bukune wes ora ónó
the book-already-not-be
'The book is no longer there'

In (95) and (96) the definite specification is reflected in the surface by means of the suffix ...*(n)e*. If sentences (95) and (96) are used with no reference whatsoever to any overt sentences, including (93) and (94), the definite specification is nevertheless pre-requisite. Thus the following are non-sentences:

- (97) * sapi luñó
cow-go
- (98) * buku wes ora ónó
book-already-not-be

In colloquial Javanese, a noun that is specified as human or personified (Chafe's Anthropomizer, 1970b:140-141) and definite may involve the use of the peripheral word : *si*, e.g.:

sariden 'Saridin'	sisariden 'the one named Saridin'
anaq 'child'	sianaq 'the child'
asu 'dog'	siasu 'the dog'
jago 'rooster'	sijago 'the rooster'

In a more formal and rare usage the peripheral word used is: *sañ*, e.g.:

bagawan 'hermit'	sañbagawan 'the (honourable) hermit'
paneran 'prince'	sañpaneran 'the (honourable) prince'
putri 'lady'	sañputri 'the (honourable) lady'
prabu 'king'	sañprabu 'the (honourable) king'

The definite specification of a noun may be indicated in the following rules:

Rule #39 $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ \text{topicalised} \end{smallmatrix} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ \text{definite} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$

Rule #40 $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ \text{definite} \end{smallmatrix} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ +\text{count} \\ \hline \text{...-(n)e} \end{smallmatrix} \right) \\ \left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ +\text{human / personified} \\ \hline \text{si / sañ} \end{smallmatrix} \right) \end{array} \right)$

2.5.20. Plural Specification

A noun is said to be specified inflectionally as plural, if it refers to a collection of things, each of which is by itself specified as count.

The number of plural nouns that involve surface affixations is small. The following list illustrates such nouns. As may be seen, not all the plural nouns are directly inflected from nouns. In this case, there has to be a derivation from a non-noun to a noun prior to the plural specification.

gunoñ 'mountain'	pEgunuñan 'mountains'
wet 'tree'	witwltan 'trees'
luhor 'exalted'	lEluhor 'ancestors'
gòdòñ 'leaf'	gEgòdòñan 'leaves'
kidoñ 'poem'	kEkiduñan 'poems, poetry'
tuwòh 'grow'	tEtuwuhan 'plants'

The plural specification may also be indicated outside the word by a quantifier. A quantifier is a numeral or a non-numeral. A numeral is any cardinal number. A non-numeral is one of such words as kabèh 'all', akèh 'many', sawatòrò 'several'. Sentences (99) - (102) illustrate the occurrence of a plural noun:

- (99) kabèh alas jati iku duwèqe pamarentah
all-forest-teak-that-the property of-government
'All the teak forests are owned by the government'
- (100) èñ lór ònò gunoñ loro
in-North-be-mountain-two
'There are two mountains in the North'
- (101) aku ñErti tEmbañ jòwò sawatòrò
I-know-song-Java-several
'I know several Javanese songs'

- (102) simen duwe anaq EnEm
Simin-have-child-six
'Simin has six children'

The following pluralisations are not acceptable, since a numeral is used side by side with a reduplication (vide p.46):

- * witwitan papat
trees-four
- * omahomah pitu
houses-seven
- * bocahbocah satos
children-one hundred
- * jaranjara lima
horses five

In the case of a noun that has an external attribute such as derived from a state verb, normally only the noun is reduplicated, e.g.:

omah ahar house-new 'A new house'	omahomah ahar 'New houses'
kEmbañ abañ flower-red 'A red flower'	kEmbañkEmbañ abañ 'Red flowers'
bocah ayu child-beautiful 'A beautiful girl'	bocahbocah ayu 'Beautiful girls'
wet duwor tree-tall 'A tall tree'	wetwet duwor 'Tall trees'

On the other hand, to emphasise the attribute, a reduplication may take place with the attribute instead of with the noun, which is to be understood as plural:

omah aharahar	'new houses'
kEmbañ abañabañ	'red flowers'
bocah ayuayu	'beautiful girls'
wet duworduwor	'tall trees'

The plural specification of a noun may be indicated in the following rules, which exclude the rare cases such as pEgunuñan 'mountains' and other similar words:

Rule #41 $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \end{smallmatrix} \right) - \rightarrow \left(\begin{smallmatrix} N \\ \text{plural} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$

$$\text{Rule \#42} \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ \text{plural} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ L \\ \hline \text{reduplication} \end{array} \right) + \text{non-numeral} \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ L \\ - \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right) + \text{numeral} \end{array} \right]$$

2.6. THE DERIVATION OF A WORD

There are four types of derivational specifications that apply to a Javanese word:

- (a) Verb to verb derivation.
- (b) Verb to noun derivation.
- (c) Noun to noun derivation.
- (d) Noun to verb derivation.

2.6.1. Verb to Verb Derivation

The derivation which forms a verb from another verb involves a change of the semantic configuration in one of these ways: (1) intensification, (2) transitivity, (3) intentionalisation, (4) reciprocalisation.

2.6.1.1. Intensification

Intensification applies to a state verb. It provides a qualification of the state or condition as either more or less intense.

Intensification may be reflected in the surface within the verb by affixation, or outside the verb by a peripheral word. The affixation involves the prefix *ka-...* ~ *ke-...* in combination with the suffix *...-an*, which is actual representation may be in the form *k(a ~ E)-V-(E)n*. This affixation indicates excessiveness.

Outside the verb, the intensification is expressed by such peripheral words as: *bañEt* 'very', which follows the verb, and *ròdò* 'slightly', *kurañ* 'not enough', which precede the verb.

The following examples illustrate the intensification of a state verb:

<i>jEro</i>	'deep'	<i>KEjEròn</i>	'too deep'
		<i>jEro bañEt</i>	'very deep'
		<i>kurañ jEro</i>	'not deep enough'
		<i>ròdò jEro</i>	'a little deep'

matEn 'ripe'	kEmatEnEn 'too ripe'
	matEn bañEt 'very ripe'
	kurañ matEn 'not ripe enough'
	ròdò matEn 'a little ripe'
kEsEl 'tired'	kEkEsElEn 'too tired'
	kEsEl bañEt 'very tired'
	kurañ kEsEl 'not tired enough'
	ròdò kEsEl 'a little tired'

The intensification of a state verb may be indicated in the following rules:

$$\text{Rule \#43} \quad \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ \text{intensification} \end{pmatrix}$$

$$\text{Rule \#44} \quad \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ \text{intensification} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ +\text{increase} \end{pmatrix} \quad \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ -\text{increase} \end{pmatrix}$$

$$\text{Rule \#45} \quad \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ +\text{increase} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ L \\ \hline [\text{ka-...}] / \text{bañEt} \\ \text{...-an} \\ +\text{increase} \end{pmatrix}$$

$$\text{Rule \#46} \quad \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ -\text{increase} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} V \\ \text{state} \\ L \\ \hline \text{ròdò} / \text{kurañ} \\ -\text{increase} \end{pmatrix}$$

2.6.1.2. Transitivity

Almost any Javanese verb, besides those that are inherently transitive, may be specified further as transitive, which consequently necessitates an agent noun and a patient noun.

The surface indicators that reflect a transitivity are the prefix (a)Ns..., alone or in combination with one of the suffixes: ...-(n)i, ...-ò, ...-ake; the prefixes di-..., taq-..., daq-..., kòq-...; the suffixes ...-En, ...-ò, ...-ake.

The suffix ...-En and the suffix ...-ò are related to the patient noun in a kind of semantic complementary distribution. If the patient noun is inflectionally specified as definite, the hortatory suffix is

...-En. If the patient noun is inflectionally specified as non-definite, the hortatory suffix is ...-ò.

The following lists illustrate the transitivity of a verb:

pEcah 'break'	mEcah cèleñan 'break a piggy bank'
pileh 'select'	milihi Enòòk 'select eggs'
tugel 'cut'	nugElò tEbu 'cut sugar cane!'
urep 'alive'	ñurepake dian 'light up a lantern'
rEseq 'clean'	jogane taqrEsiqi 'I clean up the floor'
turu 'sleep'	klasane dituròni 'The mat is slept on'
jupoq 'take'	bale koqjupoq 'You took the ball'
pEndEm 'bury'	pEndEmEn uwuhe 'Bury the trash!'

The transitivity of a verb may be indicated in the following rules:

$$\text{Rule \#47} \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state / nonstate} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{transitive} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\text{Rule \#48} \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{transitive} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{(a)Ns-...} \quad \text{...-(n)i} \end{array} \right] / \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{(a)Ns-...} / \text{taq-...} \quad \sim \text{daq-...} / \\ \text{di-...} / \text{kòq-...} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \text{...-ò} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pat} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{-def} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \text{...-En} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pat} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{+def} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{L} \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \text{...-ake} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pat} \\ \text{N} \\ \text{+def} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

2.6.1.3. Intentionalisation

Intentionalisation applies to an action verb. Its occurrence indicates the intentional nature of the action referred to by the verb, its

absence indicates the unintentional nature of the action.

The intentionalisation specification is normally reflected by the prefix (a)Ns-..., although with certain verbs, the prefix also reflects an unintentional action. The most productive affixation that reflects an unintentional action is the prefix ka-... ~ kE-..., alone or in combination with the suffix ...-an. The suffix ...-ake may indicate an intentional or an unintentional action.

The following sentences, with the verbs: pEcah 'break', gówó 'bring', idaq 'step on', lEbu 'enter', cEmplon 'plunge', and tibó 'fall', illustrate an intentional action and an unintentional action:

Intentional:

- (103) sardi mEcah cèleñan
Sardi-break-piggy bank
'Sardi breaks a piggy bank'
- (104) aku ñgówó oléholéh
I-bring-souvenir
'I bring home souvenir'
- (105) sopire ñidaq rēm
the driver-step on-brake
'The driver steps on the brakes'
- (106) siti mEbu omah
Siti-enter-house
'Siti enters the house'
- (107) parman hEmplon sEndañ
Parman-plunge-pond
'Parman plunges into the pond'
- (108) gógór nibó eñ kasor
Gogor-fall-in-mattress
'Gogor drops himself on the mattress'

Unintentional:

- (109) sardi mEcahake cèleñan
Sardi-break-piggy bank
'Sardi (unintentionally) breaks a piggy bank'
- (110) bojoku ñgówó rEjEki
my spouse-bring-luck
'My wife brings luck'
- (111) sumi nidaq tEléq
Sumi-step on-dropping
'Sumi stepped on dropping'
- (112) omahku kElEbón maleñ
my house-entered-thief
'My house was burglarised'
- (113) parman kEcEmplon sEndañ
Parman-plunged-pond
'Parman unintentionally plunged into a pond'

- (114) gógór kEtiban pElEm
Gogor-fallen on-mango fruit
'A mango fruit fell on Gogor'

The intentionalisation of a verb may be indicated in the following rules:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Rule \#49} \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{intentional} \end{array} \right) \\
 \\
 \text{Rule \#50} \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{intentional} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ L \end{array} \right) \\ \hline (a)Ns-... \\ +intention \\ \hline \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ L \end{array} \right) \\ \hline (a)Ns-.../[kE-...(...-an)] \\ -intention \end{array} \right)
 \end{array}$$

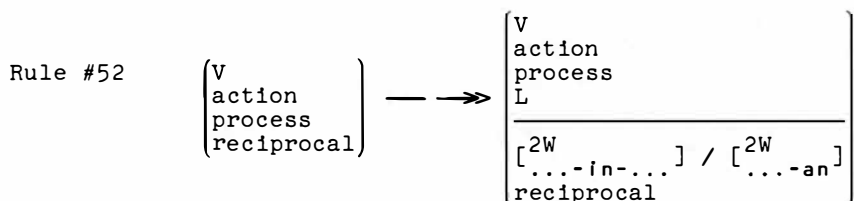
2.6.1.4. Reciprocalisation

Reciprocalisation applies to an action verb. Its occurrence indicates that the action is instigated by two performers or more, each of which directs the action to another. The reciprocalisation is reflected by the reduplication of the verb, in combination with the infix ...-in-... or with the suffix ...-an. This may be shown in the following examples:

tuloñ 'help'	tuloñtinuloñ 'help each other'
puji 'wish luck'	pujipinuji 'wish luck to each other'
trEsnò 'love'	trEsnòtinrEsnan 'love each other'
jòrók 'push'	jorokjorokan 'push each other'
oyaq 'chase'	oyaqoyaqan 'chase each other'
antEm 'hit'	antEmantEman 'hit each other'

The reciprocalisation of a verb may be indicated in the following rules (where 2W refers to a whole-word reduplication):

$$\text{Rule \#51} \quad \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{action} \\ \text{process} \\ \text{reciprocal} \end{array} \right)$$



2.6.2. Verb to Noun Derivation

A nominalisation of a verb changes the semantic structure of the verb in a direct way or in a displaced way.

A direct nominalisations yields a noun that still retains the characteristic features of the verb. A noun so formed usually belongs to the class of abstract nouns.

A displaced nominalisation yields a noun that refers to a physical object, where the characteristic features of the verb are only indirectly related to the noun.

The following examples show the nominalisation of a verb in a direct way and in a displaced way:

Direct:

laku 'walk'

- (115) lakumu kurañ bantEr
your walking-not enough-fast
'You are not walking fast enough'

sañsòrò 'miserable'

- (116) kasañsaranmu ora musprò
your suffering-not-useless
'Your suffering is not useless'

туру 'sleep'

- (117) turuku añlEr bañEt
my sleep-sound-very
'I had a sound sleep'

tules 'write'

- (118) nulesmu kalòEn
your writing-too slow
'You are writing too slowly'

Displaced:

туру 'sleep'

- (119) paturònmur EgEt bañEt
your bed-dirty-very
'Your bed is very dirty'

laboh 'cast an anchor'

- (120) pElabuhan iki jEro
harbour-this-deep
'This harbour is deep'

luŋgoh 'sit'

- (121) iki tilas paluŋguhan ratu
this-former-seat-king
'This was a king's throne'

masaq 'cook'

- (122) masaqanmu kasinEn
your cooking-too salty
'This cooking of yours is too salty'

The direct nominalisation may or may not involve affixations. Affixes involved are the prefix ka-... ~ kE-... in combination with the suffix ...-an, and the prefix (a)Ns-...

The displaced nominalisation always involves affixations. They are either the prefix pVw(Ns)-... in combination with the suffix ...-an, or the suffix ...-an alone.

The nominalisation of a verb may be indicated in the following rule:

$$\text{Rule \#53} \quad V \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ L \end{array} \right) \\ \hline \emptyset / [ka-... \sim kE-... \quad \dots-an] / (a)Ns-... \\ \text{direct} \end{array} \right) \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} N \\ L \end{array} \right) \\ \hline [pVw(Ns)-... \quad \dots-an] / \dots-an \\ \text{displaced} \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right)$$

2.6.3. Noun to Noun Derivation

A noun of a certain semantic structure may be converted into another noun of a different semantic structure. This derivation may indicate collection, location, or imitation. There is a single case of derivation which we may call opposition, where the prefix pVw(Ns)-... is involved, i.e. utaŋ 'debt' vs. piutaŋ 'credit'.

2.6.3.1. Collection

A collection specification indicates a collection of individual things. The specification is reflected by a reduplication of the first syllable in combination with the suffix ...-an, and the prefix pVw(Ns)-... in combination with the suffix ...-an. This may be shown in the following examples and summarised by Rule #54 and Rule #55

(where 2F refers to a reduplication of the first syllable):

tanduran 'plant'	tEtanduran 'a collection of plants'
kEmbañ 'flower'	kEkEmbañan 'a collection of flowers'
gunoñ 'mountain'	pagunuñan 'a mountain range'
kEbón 'garden'	pakEbónan 'a plantation'

Rule #54 $\begin{pmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \\ \text{collection} \end{pmatrix}$

Rule #55 $\begin{pmatrix} N \\ \text{count} \\ \text{collection} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} N \\ L \\ \hline [2F \dots\text{-an}] / [V (Ns)\dots \dots\text{-an}] \\ \text{count} \\ \text{collection} \end{array} \right]$

2.6.3.2. Location

A location specification indicates a place or general location of the object referred to by the noun. This specification is reflected by the prefix pVw(Ns)-... or ka-... ~ kE-... in combination with the suffix ...-an. This may be shown in the following examples and summarised by Rule #56 and Rule #57:

lurah 'village mayor'	kalurahan 'village mayor's office'
woh 'trash'	pawuhan 'trash hole'
idu 'saliva'	paidón 'spittoon'
ratu 'king'	kratón 'kingdom, palace'
wineh 'seedling'	pawinihan 'nursery'

Rule #56 $N \longrightarrow \begin{matrix} N \\ \text{location} \end{matrix}$

Rule #57 $\begin{matrix} N \\ \text{location} \end{matrix} \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} N \\ L \\ \hline [pVw(Ns)\dots \dots\text{-an}] / \\ [ka\text{-}\dots \sim kE\text{-}\dots \dots\text{-an}] \\ \text{location} \end{array} \right]$

2.6.3.3. Imitation

A noun derivationally specified as imitation refers to a copy of a reality that is conveyed by the semantic structure of the noun so derived. The specification is reflected by a reduplication of the noun in combination with the suffix ...-an. This may be shown in the following examples and summarised by Rule #58 and Rule #59:

omah 'house'	omahomahan 'toy house'
setan 'devil'	setansetanan 'a likeness of devil'
anaq 'child'	anaqanaqan 'doll'
wón 'person'	wónwónan 'effigy, scarecrow'

Rule #58 N — \Rightarrow N
imitation

Rule #59 N — \Rightarrow

N
L
[2W ...-an]
imitation

2.6.4. Noun to Verb Derivation

A noun-to-verb derivation may involve enactment, provision, orientation, or predication.

2.6.4.1. Enactment

An enactment specification indicates a performance with the noun as a built-in object, instrument, or upshot of the action referred to by the verb. This specification is quite productive, and reflected in the surface representation by the prefix (a)Ns-..., the infix ...-in-..., or the infix ...-um-... The following examples illustrate the enactment derivation of a noun into a verb:

Object:

tandañ 'act'	tumandañ 'take an action'
wañon 'shape'	winañon 'given a shape as'
ðalañ 'puppet player'	ndalañ 'act as a puppet player'

Instrument:

andón 'horse cart'	ñandón 'take a horse cart to go'
aret 'sickle'	ñaret 'mow grass with a sickle'
graji 'saw'	ñgraji 'cut with a saw'

Upshot:

gambar 'picture'	ñgambar 'draw, paint'
bubor 'porridge'	mbubor 'make porridge'
gule 'stew'	ñgule 'make stew'

The enactment derivation may be indicated in the following rules:

Rule #60 N — \Rightarrow V
action

Rule #61	V — \Rightarrow	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> V action L <hr style="border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> (a)Ns-... / ...-in-... / ...-um-... / enactment </div>
	action	

2.6.4.2. Provision

This derivation is productive in a formal or literary usage only. It converts a noun into a verb characterised as a process in which the noun serves as an object of provision or supply. The derivation is reflected by the prefix a-... This may be shown in the following examples and summarised by Rule #62 and Rule #63:

gaman 'weapon'	agaman 'armed with'
bóndò 'wealth'	abóndò 'provided with'
rupò 'appearance'	arupò 'have the appearance of'
wañon 'shape'	awañon 'have a shape of'

Rule #62	N — \Rightarrow V
	process

Rule #63	V — \Rightarrow	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> V process L <hr style="border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> a-... provision </div>
	process	

2.6.4.3. Orientation

The orientation derivation indicates an action referring to a movement towards certain points of the compass or location. It is reflected by the prefix (a)Ns-... This may be shown in the following examples and summarised by Rule #64 and Rule #65:

kandañ 'stable'	ñandañ 'return to the stable'
gEgónò 'sky'	ñgEgónò 'fly'
lòr 'North'	ñalòr 'go to the North'
kidol 'South'	ñidol 'go to the South'

Rule #64	N — \Rightarrow V
	action

Rule #65	V — \Rightarrow	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> V action L <hr style="border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin: 5px 0;"/> (a)Ns-... orientation </div>
	action	

2.6.4.4. Predication

A noun may be derived into a state verb, which refers to the state or condition of a patient noun (Chafe 1970b:143; 202). The normal surface position of the verb so derived, like a genuine state verb, is after the patient noun, the end of whose structure may be marked by the word *iku* 'that'. There is no linking word between the patient noun and the state verb, which in English is normally indicated by a form of 'be'.

The following sentences, in all of which the patient noun precedes the verb, illustrate the occurrence of a state verb derived by means of a predication specification from a whole noun:

- (123) *bojoku guru*
my spouse-teacher
'My wife is a teacher'
- (124) *sardi iku tEntara*
Sardi-that-serviceman
'Sardi is a serviceman'
- (125) *anaqe lanañ ðòktEr*
his child-male-physician
'His son is a physician'
- (126) *mbarEpku muret èsde*
my eldest child-pupil-elementary school
'My eldest child is an elementary school pupil'

The predication derivation may be indicated in the following rules:

Rule #66 N — \Rightarrow V
 state
 predication

Rule #67 V — \Rightarrow

V	
state	
N	
L	
<hr/>	
+iku	
predication	

2.7. THE PERIPHERAL WORD

The Javanese peripheral words may be subdivided into four types: emotives, conjunctives, relators, specifiers. With reference to their relation to a nuclear word, emotives are relatively the most independent peripheral words.

2.7.1. The Emotives

An emotive serves a function to indicate the state of the emotion

of the speaker. The way a language indicates the state of the emotion of its speakers in different instances of language use is understandably unique.

The following are examples of Javanese emotives: *aðoh*, *hòró*, *la*, *koq*, *wón*, *raq*, *tó*.

2.7.1.1. The Word *aðoh*

This word is quite frequent in speech. It may be in free variation with one of these: *afo*, *aðuh*, *waðoh*, *waðuh*, *doh*, *wah*. A manifestation of pain may be expressed by the word *aðoh* or one of its variants:

- (127) *aðoh panase*
ouch-the heat
'Ouch! It's hot!'
- (128) *aðuh tañanku koqidaq*
ouch-my hand-stepped on by you
'Ouch! You are stepping on my hand!'

A manifestation of surprise or awe may also be expressed by this word:

- (129) *wadoh mōntōrmu añar*
wow!-your car-new
'You have a new car!'
- (130) *wah ðuwure wón kuwi*
wow!-the height-person-that
'How tall that man is!'

An entreaty to God may also be introduced by this word:

- (131) *ðoh gosti mElasónò kawulò*
oh-Lord-have mercy-I
'Oh God, have mercy on me'
- (132) *ðoh alah miðañEtnò kawulò*
oh-God-hear!-I
'Oh God, please hear me!'

The word *aðoh* may be derived into a nuclear word, e.g.:

- (133) *òjò ñaðoh tanpò sEbap*
do not-lament-without-cause
'Stop lamenting for no reason'
- (134) *pañaduhe ora digubres*
his lamentation-not-heeded
'His lamentation went unheeded'

2.7.1.2. The Word *hòró*

This word is also frequent in speech only. It may occur in combination with *tó* which immediately follows it, i.e. *hòrótó*, or which is separated by a word or a succession of words, i.e. *hòró ... tò*.

This word reflects impatience or frustration on the part of the

speaker, such that the attention of the interlocutor is called for:

- (135) hórò kowe Emòh mEnEñ (tò)
you-refuse-quiet
'Look, aren't you going to be quiet?'
- (136) hórò(tò) dieleqake kowe malah nekat luñò
being warned-you-even-take risk-go
'Look, why are you insisting on going in spite of my warning?'

2.7.1.3. The Word la

This word is also frequent in speech only. It expresses an emphasis:

- (137) la aku luñgoh Endi
I-sit-where?
'As for me, where am I to sit?'
- (138) la tEnan gElase sidò pEcah
real-the glass-eventually-break
'Well, as I expected, the glass is now broken'

2.7.1.4. The Word kòq

This word, which is identical in surface representation with the suffix koq-..., expresses an emphasis on a contrast between what is expected and what is actual. It is frequent in speech only:

- (139) kowe koq ora luñò
you-not-go
'Why didn't you go?'
- (140) dituturi kòq ñéyél
being advised-stubborn
'Why are you stubbornly ignoring my advice?'

2.7.1.5. The Word wón

This word, which is identical with the nuclear word wón 'person', is also frequent in speech only, and indicates an emphasis:

- (141) wón aku lórò mulò aku ora tEkò
I-sick-therefore-I-not-come
'Since I was sick, I was not able to come'
- (142) wón aku ora lupot mEksò kòqarani
I-not-quilty-yet-accused by you
'I am innocent, why do you keep accusing me?'

2.7.1.6. The Word raq

This word is also frequent in speech only. It expresses some knowledge or anticipation of something. It normally occurs in combination with the word tò, which occurs at the end of a sentence:

- (143) kowe raw udot tò
you-smoke
'You smoked, didn't you?'
- (144) siman saiki raq wes pindah
Siman-now-already-move
'Siman has already moved'

2.7.1.7. The Word tò

This word is also frequent in speech only. It expresses an emphasis or finality:

- (145) ayo gEles tò
come on!-fast
'Come on, shake a leg'
- (146) òjò ñrusuhi aku tò
do not-disturb-I
'Stop disturbing me'

2.7.2. The Conjunctives

A conjunctive functions to unite two sentences or two words within a sentence. There are six types of conjunctives: alternative, inclusive, contrastive, conditional, temporal, explanatory.

2.7.2.1. Alternative

An alternative functions as an indicator of choice of two elements. The word is utówò 'or'. The following sentences illustrate the use of an alternative:

- (147) ñundañò baker utówò sardi
call-Bakir-or-Sardi
'Call Bakir or Sardi'
- (148) kowe kEnò ñEntèni utówò mañkat diseq
you-may-wait-or-depart-earlier
'You may wait or go earlier'
- (149) aku señ lali utówò ðewèqe señ ñarañ
I-who-forget-or-he-who-compose
'Either I have forgotten (it), or it is just his imagination'
- (150) anaq iku cukup loro utówò tElu wae
child-that-enough-two-or-three-only
'Two or three children for a family are enough'

In every day speech, the word ópò 'what' may be used in lieu of utówò 'or'.

2.7.2.2. Inclusive

An inclusive unites two elements into a relatively larger entity. There are several inclusives in Javanese: *lan* 'and', *tor* 'moreover', *sartó* 'including', *karo* 'with'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of an inclusive:

- (151) *bapaq lan ibu ora ónó*
father-and-mother-not-be
'Father and mother are not at home'
- (152) *sardi ñańsu lan sumi mańsaq*
Sardi-take up water-and-Sumi-cook
'Sardi is taking up water and Sumi is cooking'
- (153) *giman pintEr tor srEgEp*
Giman-clever-moreover-industrious
'Giman is smart and industrious'
- (154) *pujiku marañ kowe sartó kulówargamu*
my wishes-to-you-including-your family
'My best wishes are for you and your family'
- (155) *bapaq mańkat mEhań jakarta karo ibu*
father-depart-to-Jakarta-with-mother
'Father goes to Jakarta with mother'

2.7.2.3. Contrastive

A contrastive indicates a contrast of meaning between two elements. There are some words of this type: *nańeń* 'but', *sanajan* 'although', *móńkó* 'despite'. The following sentences illustrate the use of a contrastive:

- (156) *aku luwe nańeń ora doyan mańan*
I-hungry-but-not-want-eat
'I am hungry, but I don't have any appetite'
- (157) *sanajan ayu dēwēqe duroń payu*
although-beautiful-she-not yet-sold
'Despite her beauty, she has not yet succeeded in getting a husband'
- (158) *dēwēqe ayEm wae móńkó ora duwe duwet*
he-calm-only-despite-not-have-money
'He is always calm, although he is short of money'

2.7.2.4. Conditional

A conditional only relates sentences. It indicates a condition or implication. It occurs in the beginning of a sentence which conveys the condition. There are some words of this type: *yēn* 'if', *manówó* 'if', *ańgEr* 'if', *upó mó* 'if'. Amongst certain speakers, the word *lamon* 'if', which is commonly used in stage performances, is also used. The following sentences illustrate the use of a conditional:

- (159) manówó aku lulos arEp slamEtan
if-I-pass-will-offer a thanksgiving meal
'If I pass my examination, I will offer a thanksgiving meal'
- (160) yén ora udan aku arEp umbahumbah
if-not-rain-I-will-do laundry
'If it is not raining, I will do my laundry'
- (161) ańgEr kowe muńgah kowe taqjaq mEhań sEmarań
if-you-be promoted-you-I take-to-Semarang
'If you are promoted, we shall go to Semarang with you'
- (162) upómó aku ńErti aku ora takón kowe
if-I-know-I-not-ask-you
'If I had known, I would not have asked you'

2.7.2.5. Temporal

A temporal marks a reference to time. It occurs before a sentence conveying the reference of time, which occurs in relation with another sentence. There are several words of this type: saduruńe 'before', bubar ~ sawise 'after', sinambi ~ kambi 'while', sajrone 'during', sasuwene 'during the period of', saplóqe 'since the time of', nalikó ~ déq ~ rikóló 'when', and angEr 'any time', which also reflects a condition (vide 2.7.2.4.).

The following sentences illustrate the use of a temporal:

- (163) saduruńe aku ńambotgawe sEpeđa wae ora duwe
before-I-work-bicycle-only-not-have
'Before I got a job, I did not have even a bicycle'
- (164) sawise udane tErań lańite katón rEseq
after-the rain-bright-the sky-appear-clear
'After the rain stops, the sky looks clear'
- (165) ira mócó buku kambi nuńgóni ađine
Ira-read-book-while-watch-her younger sibling
'Ira read a book while she babysat her younger brother'
- (166) sajrone aku lóró pardi tileq peń pindo
during-I-sick-Pardi-visit-times-two
'When I was sick, Pardi visited me twice'
- (167) saploqe aku ónó ńomah ora tau udan
since the time of-I-be-in house-not-ever-rain
'Since I was back home (some time ago), there has been no rain'
- (168) déq aku ónó kElas loro aku lóró malaria
when-I-be-class-two-I-sick-malaria
'When I was in the second grade, I got malaria'
- (169) ańgEr aku mańan kuceńku mEśfi njaloq
any time-I-eat-my cat-for sure-ask
'Any time I eat, my cat always asks for some'

2.7.2.6. Explanatory

An explanatory introduces a sentence that functions as either a source or a target of explanation of the meaning conveyed by another related sentence. There are a number of words of this type: *margó* 'because', *jalaran* 'because', *muló* 'therefore', *awet* 'because', *saréhne* 'because', *supóyó* 'in order that', *mureh* 'in order that'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of an explanatory:

- (170) *aku ora luñó margó udan*
I-not-go-because-rain
'I do not go, because it rains'
- (171) *aku lóró muló ora bisó tEkó*
I-sick-therefore-not-able-come
'I was sick, therefore I was not able to come'
- (172) *gógór kasép jalaran bane ngEmbés*
Gogor-late-because-the tire-flat
'Gogor is late, because he had a flat tire'
- (173) *iseh sore wes pEtEñ awet mEndoñ*
still-afternoon-already-dark-because-cloud
'It gets dark early, because it is cloudy'
- (174) *saréhne kEsEl aku arEp ñaso ñiseq*
because-tired-I-will-rest-first
'I will first rest, because I am tired'
- (175) *aku mlayu supóyó ora kasép*
I-run-in order that-not late
'I run in order not to be late'
- (176) *mureh kowe lulos sinauó señ srEgEp*
in order that-you-pass-study-which-industrious
'You have to study hard, in order that you may pass'

2.7.3. Relator

A relator refers and attaches a sentence to an antecedent irrespective of whether the antecedent is reflected in the surface representation or not. There is only one relator: *señ* 'which, who'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of a relator:

- (177) *señ kasép ora oléh mIEbu*
who-late-not-may-enter
'Those who are late are not allowed to enter'
- (178) *aku wEroh señ jógó taman*
I-see-who-guard-park
'I saw the man who guards the park'

2.7.4. The Specifiers

A specifier functions to provide further diagnostics of a nuclear word. There are two types of specifiers: (a) those that specify a verb, (b) those that specify a noun.

2.7.4.1. The Verb Specifier

A verb specifier specifies a verb in terms of its negation, frequency, stage.

The negative specifier of a verb is the word *ora* 'not'.

The frequency specifier of a verb is one of such words as *sEpisan* ~ *peñ sEpisan* 'once', *pindo* ~ *peñ pindo* 'twice', *kErEp* 'frequently', *arañ* 'seldom'.

The stage specifier of a verb is one of such words as *iagi* 'in the process of', *duroñ* 'not yet', *arEp* 'will', *mEntas* 'right after'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of a verb specifier:

- (179) *tañgaku ora hambotgawe*
my neighbour-not-work
'My neighbour does not work'
- (180) *aku wes mañan sEpisan*
I-already-eat-once
'I have already eaten once'
- (181) *mardi kErEp tileq ibune*
Mardi-often-visit-his mother
'Mardi visits his mother frequently'
- (182) *dèwèqe arañ turu eñ omah*
he-seldom-sleep-in-house
'He seldom sleeps at home'
- (183) *aku duroñ ados*
I-not yet-take a shower
'I have not taken a shower yet'
- (184) *ibu lagi masaq*
mother-in the process of-cook
'Mother is cooking'
- (185) *guruku arEp nandor jagoñ*
my teacher-will-plant-corn
'My teacher will plant corn'
- (186) *sariman mEntas mañan*
Sariman-right after-eat
'Sariman has just finished eating'

2.7.4.2. The Noun Specifier

A noun specifier refers to a negation or a preposition.

The negative specifier of a noun is the word *dudu* 'not'. Thus Javanese has an effective nuclear word identifier, since the verb

negativiser is ora 'not'.

The preposition is one of such words as *en* 'in, at', *sókò* 'from', *mEhañ* 'to', *marañ* 'to', *kañgo* 'for'. The first preposition is quite frequently used as a euphonic element and attached before a nuclear word in a productive way to form many complex prepositions: *eñ* + *duwor* 'high' > *nduwor* 'above', e.g. *nduwor mejò* 'on the table', *eñ* + *jEro* 'deep' > *njEro* 'inside', e.g. *njEro guwò* 'in the cave'.

The preposition *mEhañ* 'to', which always occurs before a noun indicating a locative goal of some movement, is sometimes the only surface marker implying a deleted verb of movement.

The following sentences illustrate the use of a noun specifier:

- (187) *iki dudu mricò*
this-not-pepper
'This is not pepper'
- (188) *luñguhò nduwor watu kuwi*
sit-on-stone-that
'Sit on that stone!'
- (189) *paman tEkò sókò sawah*
uncle-come-from-rice field
'Uncle comes from the rice field'
- (190) *ibu mEhañ jakarta*
mother-to-Jakarta
'Mother goes to Jakarta'
- (191) *aku uron duwet marañ panitia korban banjer*
I-contribute-money-to-committee-victim-flood
'I contributed some money to the flood relief committee'
- (192) *bapaq gawe layañan kañgo aku*
father-make-kite-for-me
'Father makes a kite for me'

CHAPTER 3

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SENTENCE

3.1. Verb Function Types

If a verb as a variable is symbolised by such a letter as 'f', and if a noun as a variable is symbolised by such a letter as 'x', 'y', 'z', and the like, a symbolisation such as $f(x)$, where there is one predicate element and one argument, $f(x,y)$, $f(x,y,z)$, where the verb function is constant and where there are two and three arguments respectively, may be used to represent a Javanese sentence where one, two, or three nouns may occur in relation to the same verb.

The function symbol $f(x)$ is exemplified by such a sentence as (vide p.29):

(2) klambiku rEgEt 'My shirt is dirty'

With reference to an English sentence such as shown by the gloss, the syntactical relationship between the state verb '*dirty*' and the patient noun '*my shirt*' is represented by the copula '*is*', and denoted in the function symbol by the parentheses. With reference to a Javanese sentence such as (2) and others similar to it, the relationship between the state verb and the patient noun is reflected merely by the juxtaposition of the verb and the noun, with the question of a particular surface ordering being of secondary importance.

In (2a) below we have $f(x,y)$, where the verb function is constant with two nouns related to the verb instead of one:

(2a) klambiku luweh rEgEt tinimbañ klambimu
my shirt-more-dirty-than-your shirt
'My shirt is dirtier than yours'

We shall call $f(x)$ such as exemplified by (2) a one-place verb function, and $f(x,y)$ such as exemplified by (2a), which happens to be derived from two simple sentences, a two-place verb function.

With reference to a Javanese simple sentence, i.e. a sentence

consisting of one verb construction and not resulting from a derivation of two or more sentences, there are four types of verbs differentiated on the basis of their valence functions: (i) zero-place verbs; (ii) one-place verbs; (iii) two-place verbs; (iv) three-place verbs. For convenience, no discussion is given of four-place verbs, e.g. in such cases as : 'P carries Q from R to S', since the extension seems limitless, i.e. 'P carries Q from R to S, then to T, then to...etc.'

3.1.1. Zero-Place Verb

A zero-place verb is a verb the valence of which necessitates a non-occurrence of a noun for the reason that the noun is always predictable and never occurs obligatorily in the sentence.

In English, such sentences as '*It snows*', '*It is cold*', '*It is dark*', seem to fit in this criterion of zero-place function of the verb, i.e. '*snow*', '*cold*', and '*dark*' respectively. In these sentences, '*it*' is only a grammatical argument, substituting a logical one that refers to '*the sky*', '*the night*', or '*the weather*', and as such it is also normally referred to as a dummy subject.

In a Javanese sentence the nucleus of which is a zero-place verb, the dummy argument is not needed. Such a sentence also refers to a meteorological condition, where the nominal element, i.e. lañet '*the sky*', hówò '*air, weather*', is always known. In these sentences, no surface or dummy indicator occurs.

In rare circumstances where the noun is expressed, it is generally called for by a phonological constraint, e.g. rhythm, or by a further specification indicating place or time, so that a balance in the rhythm of speech may be maintained.

The following are sentences with a zero-place verb, where a nominal element is non-existent:

(193) tɬĚeq '*It drizzles*'

(194) udan '*It rains*'

(195) mEndoñ '*It is cloudy*'

(196) ađEm '*It is cold*'

In appropriate physical contexts, each of the sentences above is independently adequate, i.e. no argument in favour of calling them elliptical sentences seems necessary. It is, however, possible to find sentences of this type in the neighbourhood of another sentence:

(197) memean puluñEn # tɬĚeq
the laundry-collect!-it drizzles

'Bring in the laundry, it has begun to drizzle'

- (198) udan # ayo ñeyop
it rains-let us-find shelter
'It is raining, let's find a shelter'
- (199) ñgówóó payoñ # mEndoñ
carry!-umbrella-it's cloudy
'Carry an umbrella, it is cloudy'
- (200) mIEbuó ñomah # ađEm
enter!-in the house-it's cold
'Come into the house, it's cold'

3.1.2. One-Place Verb

A one-place verb has a valence for a single noun. It is characterised by a single selectional specification. In this sense, a state verb, an action verb, or a process verb is a one-place verb.

The normal surface order of the elements of a sentence in which a one-place verb occurs as its nucleus is: N V. For emphatic purposes, the order is reversed.

The following are sentences where a one-place verb occurs:

State:

- (201) asuku cileq
my dog-small
'My dog is small'
- (202) bojoku lóró
my wife-sick
'My wife is sick'

Action:

- (203) bayine nañes
the baby-cry
'The baby cries'
- (204) tañgaku mbEñóq
my neighbour-scream
'My neighbour screams'

Process:

- (205) layañane muloq
the kite-flown up
'The kite is flying'
- (206) saminah sumapot
Saminah-faint
'Saminah fainted'

3.1.3. Two-Place Verb

A two-place verb is a verb that by virtue of its semantic valence dictates the presence of two nouns. A two-place verb is specified by at least two selectional units. One of these selectional units is state, action, or process, which is in combination with experiential,

benefactive, or locative, thus forming nine different types of two-place verbs. The combination forming a two-place verb may also consist of action and process, or action and process and experiential. Accordingly, eleven types of two-place verbs are known. They have been mentioned in 2.5.5., 2.5.6., 2.5.7., 2.5.8., 2.5.9., 2.5.10., 2.5.11., 2.5.12., 2.5.13., 2.5.14., and 2.5.15.

The surface order of the elements of a sentence in which a two-place verb functions as its nucleus is under certain constraints of cohesion of the sentence elements. If the verb is specified as action, the agent forms an entity, and the verb with the other noun forms another entity. If the verb is experiential, the experiencer noun forms an entity, and the verb with the other noun forms another. If the verb is locative, the locative noun and the verb form an entity, while the other noun forms another. If the verb is benefactive, the beneficiary noun forms an entity, and the verb with other noun forms another. These cohesion constraints have a significant implication on the contrast between a normal, i.e. non-affective surface order and an affective order. The normal order is $N_1 V N_2$. The affective order is $V N_2 N_1$, where a topicalisation of a verb structure, not a noun structure, takes place.

The following examples illustrate the contrast between a normal order (odd numbers) and an affective order (even numbers):

Action:

- (207) samijan nandor telò
Samijan-plant-casava
'Samijan is planting casava'

- (208) nandor telò samijan

Experiential:

- (209) aku bòsEn masaganmu
I-bored-your cooking
'I have no more appetite for your cookin'

- (210) bòsEn masaganmu aku

Locative:

- (211) manuqe mencòq eñ payòn
the bird-perch-in-roof
'The bird is perching on the roof'

- (212) mencòq eñ payòn manuqe

Benefactive:

- (213) gògòr sugh kòncò
Gogor-rich-friend
'Gogor has a lot of friends'

- (214) sugh kòncò gògòr

3.1.4. Three-Place Verb

One of the three nouns necessitated by a three-place verb normally functions as an Agent. In the case of the absence of an agent, two of the nouns are locatives, although only one is retained in the surface representation.

Javanese three-place verbs may be subdivided into five types: benefactive, complemental, action-locative, experiential, process-locative.

3.1.4.1. The Three-Place Benefactive Verb

The three-place benefactive verbs may be subdivided into two types: direct transfer verbs and indirect transfer verbs.

A direct transfer verb self-sufficiently conveys the meaning of the transfer of object between the agent noun and the beneficiary noun, e.g. *wènèh* 'give', *sumbañ* 'contribute', *dom* 'distribute', *uron* 'chip in', *wares* 'inherit', *uloñ* 'hand over'. These verbs are marked in the surface by the preposition *marañ* 'to', which precedes the beneficiary noun.

An indirect transfer verb is where the action is specified as a reference to a service, in which the transfer of object is performed consecutive to the service, e.g. *tuku* 'buy', *mañsaq* 'cook', *gawe* 'make', *jaet* 'sew', *tandor* 'plant', *pEsEn* 'order'. These verbs are marked in the surface by the preposition: *kañgo* 'for', which precedes the beneficiary noun.

The surface order of the components of a sentence with a three-place benefactive verb in which the agent is topicalised is as follows:

agt		pat		ben
N	V	N	(marañ / kañgo)	N

Examples:

Direct transfer:

- (215) *ibu ñumbañ gulò marañ buleq*
mother-contribute-sugar-to-aunt
'Mother contributes sugar to aunt'
- (216) *maliñe ñuluñi tampar marañ cañuqe*
the thief-hand over-rope-to-accomplice
'The thief handed over a rope to his accomplice'

Indirect transfer:

- (217) *ibu njaet rok kañgo sumi*
mother-sew-dress-for-Sumi
'Mother is making a dress for Sumi'
- (218) *bapaq gawe ñinkleq kañgo ibu*
father-make-stool-for-mother
'Father makes a stool for mother'

When the patient noun is topicalised, the surface order is as follows:

pat		agt		ben
N	V	N	(marañ / kaño)	N

In this order, if the agent is the speaker or the interlocutor, it is prefixed to the verb, i.e. taq-... and kôq-... Otherwise, the prefix is di-... and ^{agt}N is realised by a noun. Indirect transfer verbs do not involve any suffixation, whereas direct transfer verbs may involve the suffixation of ...-ake.

Examples:

Direct transfer:

- (219) gulane disumbañake ibu marañ buleq
'The sugar is contributed to aunt by mother'
- (220) tampare diuloñake maline marañ cañuqe
'The rope was handed over to the accomplice by the thief'

Indirect transfer:

- (221) roke dijaet ibu kaño sumi
'The dress is being made for Sumi by mother'
- (222) diñkliqe digawe bapaq kaño ibu
'The stool is made for mother by father'

When the beneficiary noun is topicalised, the surface order is as follows:

ben		pat		agt
N	V	N	(deneñ / karo)	N

If the agent is the speaker or the interlocutor, it is prefixed to the verb, i.e. taq-... 'I' and koq-... 'you', and the peripheral word deneñ 'by' or karo 'by' is always omitted, otherwise, the prefix is di-... The direct transfer verbs may involve the use of the suffix ...-(n)i, the indirect transfer verbs involve the use of the prefix ...-ake.

Examples:

Direct transfer:

- (223) buleq disumbañ gulô ibu
'Aunt gets sugar from mother'
- (224) cañuqe diuluñi tampar maline
'The accomplice was handed over a rope by the thief'

Indirect transfer:

- (225) sumi dijaetake rok ibu
'Sumi will get a dress made by mother'
- (226) ibu digawêqake ñiñkleq bapaq
'Mother will get a stool made by father'

3.1.4.2. The Three-Place Complemental Verb

A complemental verb is an action-process verb that involves a change of the condition of the patient from one state to another (but vide Chafe 1970b:156-158). The specification of the change is brought about by the selectional specification complemental, which necessitates the presence of a complement to indicate the new condition the patient is in. The patient noun and the complement noun refer to an identical empirical entity. The order of the effect of the action, however, is clear: the complement noun necessarily refers to the upshot of the action instigated by the agent upon the patient.

These are examples of complemental verbs: *pileh* 'choose, elect', *añkat* 'appoint, nominate', *aran* 'name, accuse', *añgEp* 'consider'.

The semantic structure of a complemental verb is characterised by its cohesion with the complement noun. The complement noun, and in fact the complemental verb structure, can never be topicalised.

The surface order of the components of a sentence in which a three-place complemental verb occurs is either:

agt		pat	compl
N	V	N	N

where a topicalisation of the agent takes place, or:

pat		compl	agt
N	V	N	N

where the patient noun is topicalised. The first surface order involves an affixation of the prefix (a)Ns-..., alone or in combination with the suffix ...-(n)i, the second surface order involves the affixation of the prefix di-... and the use of the peripheral word: *deneñ* 'by' in front of the agent noun.

The following sentences illustrate the use of a complemental verb (where odd numbers refer to an agent topicalisation, even numbers to a patient topicalisation):

- (227) *raqyat mileh paqharto presiðen*
people-elect-Pak Harto-president
'The people elected Pak Harto president'
- (228) *paqharto dipileh presiðen denen raqyat*
'Pak Harto was elected president by the people'
- (229) *pamarentah ñañkat saebani bupati klañen*
government-appoint-Saebani-regent-Klaten
'The government appointed Saebani regent of Klaten'
- (230) *saebani diañkat bupati klañen deneñ pamarentah*
'Saebani was appointed regent of Klaten by the government'
- (231) *tóñgótóñgò ñarani samijò maliñe*
neighbours-name-Samijo-the thief
'The neighbours accused Samijo of being the thief'

- (232) samijò diarani maline deneñ tòngótòngó
'Samijo was accused of being the thief by the neighbours'
- (233) paqlurah ñaṅgEp aku sadulor
village mayor-consider-I-sibling
'The village mayor pledges brotherhood with me'
- (234) aku diaṅgEp sadulor deneñ paqlurah
'I am considered a brother by the village mayor'

The following constructions, in which the complement noun is topicalised, are not acceptable:

- (235) *sadulor diaṅgEp aku deneñ paqlurah
 (236) *presidēn dipileh paqharto denen raqyat
 (237) *bupati diaṅkat saebani denen pamarentah
 (238) *maline diarani samijo deneñ tòngótòngó

3.1.4.3. The Three-Place Action-Locative Verb

An action-locative verb, as shown in 2.5.11., implies an action of movement or direction which involves the change of location of the agent. A change of location logically involves origin and goal. In surface representation, however, one of the locative nouns required by the semantic structure of the verb is not realised, and only the one which is relevant to the particular context is used. In some cases, when the most relevant focus is on the action itself, even both the origin and the goal are not reflected in the surface representation.

These are examples of three-place action-locative verbs: luṅb 'go', aleh 'move', uṅsi 'flee for safety', lembar 'jump (on heights)', buḍal 'depart', eṅgōq 'turn'.

The locative noun, origin or goal, can never be topicalised. The verb structure, however, may be topicalised in affective uses, with the origin locative and the goal locative forming a cohesion with it (vide p.78).

The following are the surface orders of the components of a sentence (where lor refers to origin, log refers to goal):

agt		lor	log
N	V	(N)	(N)
	lor	log	agt
V	(N)	(N)	N

The following sentences illustrate the use of a three-place action-locative verb, in which the origin locative noun is not reflected in the surface representation:

- (239) ranti lagi luṅb mEhañ pasar
Ranti-in the process of-go-to-market
'Ranti is now away in the market'

- (240) becaqe wes ñaleh mEñañ eyupan
the pedicab-already-move-to-shade
'The pedicab has already moved to the shade'
- (241) bojone ñuñsi mEñañ desò
his wife-flee for safety-to-village
'His wife flees for safety to the country'
- (242) bajiñe mlembar mEñañ wuwuñan
the squirrel-jump-to-ridge of roof
'The squirrel has jumped to the ridge of the roof'
- (243) kapale buñal mEñañ cirebòn
the ship-depart-to-Cirebon
'The ship departs for Cirebon'
- (244) grobake meñgòq mEñan pEkarahan
the oxcart-turn-to-yard
'The oxcart has turned to the yard'

3.1.4.4. The Three-Place Experiential Verb

A three-place experiential verb requires two experiencer nouns. One of these also functions as the instigator of the action that has an experience as its consequence. The other experiencer noun functions as a participant of the experience. A third noun required by the verb refers to an object, abstract or concrete, to which the experience is related.

These are examples of three-place experiential verbs: wulañ 'teach', takòn 'ask', tudoh 'show', tEpoñ 'acquaint'.

The normal surface order of the elements of a sentence with a three-place experiential verb is as follows:

expl		pat	exp2
N	V	N	N

where expl refers to the agent, and exp2 refers to the participant, which is introduced by the peripheral word: marañ 'to'.

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of a three-place experiential verb:

- (245) sardi mulañ pEncaq marañ anaqku
Sardi-teach-selfdefense-to-my child
'Sardi teaches my child the art of selfdefense'
- (246) bapaq takòn jEnEñmu marañ aku
father-ask-your name-to-I
'Father asks me your name'
- (247) ibu nudohake gambarku marañ kancane
mother-show-my picture-to-her friend
'Mother shows my picture to her friend'
- (248) ira nEpoñake ađine marañ aku
Ira-acquaint-her younger sibling-to-I
'Ira introduced her younger brother to me'

A topicalisation of the participant is also normal. In this case the verb involves the affixation of the prefix *di-*... and the peripheral word *deneñ* is normally used before the agent noun. The surface order is as follows:

exp2		pat		expl
N	V	N	deneñ	N

The following sentences illustrate the topicalisation of the participant:

- (249) *anaqku diwulañ pEncaq deneñ sardi*
'My child is taught the art of selfdefense by Sardi'
- (250) *aku ditakõni jEnEñmu deneñ bapaq*
'I was asked your name by father'
- (251) *kancane ibu dituduhi gambarku deneñ ibu*
'My mother's friend is shown my picture by mother'
- (252) *aku ditEpoñake ađine deneñ ira*
'I am introduced to her younger brother by Ira'

3.1.4.5. The Three-Place Process-Locative Verb

A three-place process-locative verb is similar to a three-place action-locative verb in that two locative nouns, one referring to the origin and another to goal, are required by the semantic structure of the verb.

These are examples of Javanese three-place process-locative verbs: *lórót* 'slide', *kenter* 'washed away', *uloq* 'fly', *uñgah* 'promote'.

As in the action-locative verb, one or even the two locative nouns may be redundant in the surface representation. The surface orders of the sentence components are also similar to those where an action-locative verb occurs (vide p.82), i.e.:

pat		lor	log
N	V	(N)	(N)
		lor	log
V		(N)	(N)
			pat
			N

The second surface order is used for affective purposes.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of a three-place process-locative verb:

- (253) *gEnđene mlórót mEñañ talañ*
the tile-slide-to-gutter
'The tile slides down to the gutter'
- (254) *gubuke kenter mEñan rówó*
the hut-washed away-to-swamp
'The hut was washed away to the swamp'

- (255) layañane muloq mEhañ lañet
the kite-fly-to-sky
'The kite is flying to the sky'
- (256) gógór muñgah mEhañ kElas tElu
Gogor-promoted-to-class-three
'Gogor is promoted to the third grade'

3.2. SIMPLE SENTENCE

A simple sentence is a construction with a single verb. In this sense what we have mentioned as zero-place verb constructions (3.1.1.) are simple sentences, although, in terms of transformational generative grammar they would be considered as non-kernel sentences, since they fail the criterion of completeness (Cook 1969:42). A simple sentence is also defined as an affirmative statement, i.e. it is not a command, a question, nor a negative statement. A simple sentence is characterised by an active inflectional specification of the verb, if the verb is subject to such a specification. A simple sentence is not derived from more than one verb construction. A peripheral word is never called for obligatorily in a simple sentence.

Non-simple sentences may be sub-divided into three types:

- (1) modified simple sentences,
- (2) compound sentences,
- (3) complex sentences.

3.3. MODIFIED SIMPLE SENTENCE

A modified simple sentence is derived from a simple sentence by means of an optional process, in which no additional verb construction is involved. This process has to do with a further specification of the verb or the noun, which may call for the use of a peripheral word. A shift of the focus on certain elements for affective purposes is also responsible for a modification of a simple sentence.

Some modifications that may be applied to the verb of a simple sentence are negation, frequency, stage, all of which have been mentioned in 2.7.4.1. (vide p.72), time, question, command, and potentiality. A modification of a simple sentence involving a further specification of a noun may be in terms of its negation (vide 2.7.4.2.) or its conjunction with another noun. No discussion of the negation of a verb or a noun will be repeated here. These specifications, while typical, are by no means exhaustive.

3.3.1. Frequency

A modification of a simple sentence in terms of the frequency referred to by the semantic structure of the verb is of two types. One is where there is a relevant relation between the frequency specification and its actual countability, and the other is in which such a relation is irrelevant. For example, the peripheral word: *manèh* 'again' may in itself be considered as revealing a countable frequency, since it refers to 'one' extra frequency. On the other hand, such peripheral words as: *kErEp* 'frequent', *arañ* 'seldom', *sòq* 'occasionally' lack any relevance to countability.

A productive frequency specifier that is relevant to countability is represented by the peripheral word: *kapeñ ~ peñ* 'time', which always precedes a numeral such as: *sljl* 'one', *loro* 'two', *tElu* 'three', *papat* 'four', *limò* 'five', *EnEm* 'six', *pitu* 'seven', *wòlu* 'eight', *sònò* 'nine', *sEpuloh* 'ten', *sEwElas* 'eleven', *rolas* 'twelve', *rónpuloh* 'twenty', *sElikor* 'twenty-one', *rolikur* 'twenty-two', *sElawe* 'twenty-five', *sèkEt* 'fifty', *sEwidaq* 'sixty', *satos* 'one hundred', and so forth. There are only two ordinal numerals in Javanese: *sEpisan ~ pisan* 'first' and *pinðo* 'twice'. With these ordinal numerals, the specifier *kapeñ ~ peñ* 'time' is optional.

In the surface representation, the frequency specifiers that are relevant to countability follow the verb, and those that are not relevant to countability precede the verb. The following sentences illustrate the frequency specification of a verb:

- (257) *aku mañan (peñ) pinðo*
I-eat-(time)-twice
'I eat twice'
- (258) *dèwèqe lórò peñ tElu ònò eñ paran*
he-sick-time-three-be-in-strange land
'He was sick three times when he was away'
- (259) *layañane tumañsañ manèh*
the kite-caught on-again
'The kite was caught on (in the tree) again'
- (260) *aku kErEp mañan*
I-often-eat
'I often eat'
- (261) *dèwèqe arañ lórò*
he-seldom-sick
'He is seldom sick'
- (262) *layañane tansah tumañsañ*
the kite-always-caught on
'The kite was always caught on in the tree'

3.3.2. Stage

A modified simple sentence resulting from the specification of the verb in terms of its stage is characterised by the presence of such peripheral words as: *iseh* 'still', *lagi* 'in the process of', *duroñ* 'not yet', *uwes wes* 'already', *arEp* 'will', *mEntas* 'right after', *tEros* 'continuously', *sidò* 'eventually'. These words specify state verbs as well as non-state verbs.

In the surface representation, the specifier: *tEros* 'continuously' normally follows a state verb, but it may precede or follow a non-state verb. Other stage specifiers always precede the verb they specify.

The following are examples of modified simple sentences where a stage specifier occurs:

- (263) *gògòr iseh mañan*
Gogor-still-eat
'Gogor still eats'
- (264) *gembòñ lagi nEsu*
Gembong-in the process of-angry
'Gembong is angry now'
- (265) *sumi duroñ ados*
Sumi-not yet-take a bath
'Sumi has not taken a bath yet'
- (266) *leo wes mañan*
Leo-already-eat
'Leo has already eaten'
- (267) *asuku arEp lórò*
my dog-will-sick
'My dog will be sick'
- (268) *tuti mEntas luñò*
Tuti-right after-go
'Tuti has just come from travelling'
- (269) *minah sidò dadi mantèn*
Minah-eventually-become-bride
'Minah finally gets married'
- (270) *sardi teros hambotgawe*
Sardi-continuously-work
'Sardi continuously works'
- (271) *sardi lórò tEros*
Sardi-sick-continuously
'Sardi is continuously sick'

The peripheral word *tEros* 'continuously' is identical in form with the peripheral temporal word *tEros* 'then'. This may be shown in the following compound sentence:

- (272) *jam pitu aku tañi # tEros aku ados*
hour-seven-I-wake up-then-I-take a bath
'I woke up at seven, then took a bath'

3.3.3. Time

The meaning of a verb, whether it is state or non-state, may be made specific by a time reference, which is reflected in the surface by a peripheral word or a construction of words that function as a peripheral word.

The time reference normally precedes a sentence or its verb, although for emphatic or affective purposes it may follow a sentence or its verb. It never occurs between locative nouns or between a locative verb and a locative noun.

These are examples of words that refer to time references: wiñi 'yesterday', sesoq 'tomorrow', mau 'just now', mEñko 'before long', taon iki 'this year', mau bEñi 'last night', mEñko sore 'this evening'.

The following are modified simple sentences characterised by time references:

- (273) aku wiñi lórò
I-yesterday-sick
'I was sick yesterday'
- (274) sesoq sumi hambotgawe
tomorrow-Sumi-work
'Tomorrow Sumi works'
- (275) bòi saiki lEmu
boy-now-fat
'Boy is fat now'
- (276) ðewéqe mau nañes
he-just now-cry
'He cried just now'
- (277) mEñko sardi budal mEñañ sEmarañ
before long-Sardi-depart-to-Semarang
'Today Sardi will go to Semarang'
- (278) ibu taon iki mulañ aljabar
mother-year-this-teach-algebra
'This year mother teaches algebra'
- (279) mau bEñi aku turu
just now-night-I-sleep
'I slept last night'
- (280) bapaq mEñko sore gawe layañan
father-before long-evening-make-kite
'Father is going to make a kite this evening'

3.3.4. Question

A question asks for some information. In the surface representation, a question is reflected by such words as: ópò 'what', sópò 'who', piye 'how', Endi 'where'.

With or without the presence of a question word, a question may also

be indicated by a rising intonation. When a question is focused on a noun, it is reflected by the pronoun *sópó* 'who' for a noun specified as +Human, or the pronoun *ópó* 'what' for a noun specified as -Human, or the pronoun *Endi* 'where' for a noun specified as locative.

A question may also be focused on a verb. A question that is focused on a verb may be general, i.e. it seeks for the answer 'Yes' or 'No', or selectionally oriented, i.e. the question has to do with a particular specification of the verb. A general question may be reflected by the marker, i.e. peripheral word: *ópó* '?', which is identical in surface form with the pronoun *ópó* 'what', or the marker: *ora* 'or not?', which is identical in surface form with the peripheral word *ora* 'not'.

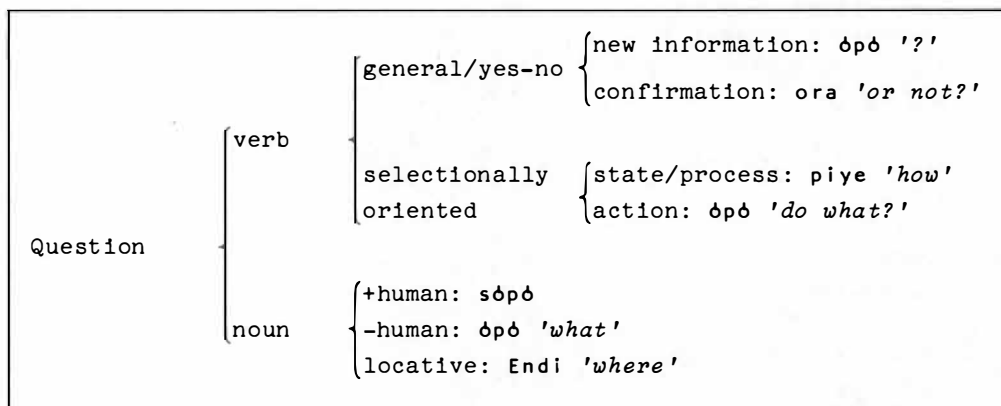
The marker *ópó* '?' is used when new information is sought for. The marker *ora* 'or not?' is used when a confirmation, negative or positive, is sought for.

A selectionally oriented question is reflected by the word *piye* 'how', if the verb providing the information is specified as state or process. If the verb is specified as action, the question word is a construction of *ópó*, which may be rendered as 'do what?'

The yes-no question involves what we may call additive modification, while other questions involve what we may call substitutive modification. That is, to seek for an answer 'Yes' or 'Now', it is necessary to introduce the word *ópó* or *ora* into a simple sentence, whereas in any other type of question it is necessary to introduce a question word as well as delete a word that the question word replaces in the question.

Figure 7 shows a diagram that summarises the types of questions and the question words involved:

FIGURE 7



3.3.4.1. Yes-No Question

The word *ora* 'or not?' always occurs at the end of a sentence, which ends in a rising intonation. The word *ópó* '?' may occur at the beginning of a sentence, or between a topicalised noun and a verb, or, in a question that expresses a strong curiosity or incredulity, following a sentence which ends in a rising intonation and a slight pause, and the word *ópó* itself is pronounced with a rising intonation. The two rising intonations are markers to avoid an ambiguity with another question of a different meaning that ends in a falling intonation. The contrast may be shown in the following examples (where # = falling intonation, / = rising intonation):

- (281) *kowe lóró ópó #*
you-sick-what (kind)
'What are you suffering from?'
- (282) *kowe lóró / ópó /*
you-sick-?
'Are you really sick?'

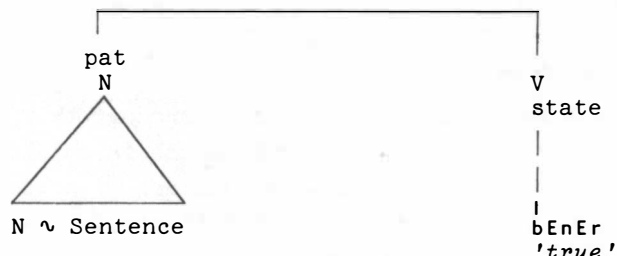
The following are examples of yes-no questions, where items numbered with a refer to statement counterparts, which are not necessarily responses to the questions:

- (283) *ópó kowe mañan*
?-you-eat
'Are you eating?'
- (284) *kowe ópó lóró*
you?-sick
'Are you sick?'
- (285) *kowe ñErti ora*
you-understand-or not?
'Do you understand or not?'
- (286) *sardi kEsEl ora*
Sardi-tired-or not
'Is Sardi tired or not?'
- (283a) *aku mañan*
I-eat
'I am eating'
- (284a) *aku lóró*
I-sick
'I am sick'
- (285a) *aku ñErti*
I-understand
'I understand'
- (286a) *sardi kEsEl*
Sardi-tired
'Sardi is tired'

A combination of *ópó* '?' and *iyó* 'yes' forms a question, which means 'Is it true?':

(287) *ópó iyó* 'Is it true?'

In this question, the word *ópó* functions as a substitute for a noun or a full-fledged sentence, while the word *iyó* 'yes' functions as a substitute for such a confirmative state verb as *bEnEr* 'true, correct', *hótó* 'factual', *tEnan* 'real'. This may be shown as follows:



The response to this type of question is normally represented by the confirmative word, or its denial: *ora* 'no'. Thus the following sentence is not acceptable, since the noun is retained in the surface:

(288) **critane iyó*
the story-yes

3.3.4.2. Question with *piye*

The word *piye* ~ *priye* 'how' asks for some information about the state or the change of the state of a patient noun.

In the surface representation, the word *piye* may precede or follow a patient noun.

The following are examples of questions with *piye* 'how', where items numbered with a refer to statement counterparts, which are not necessarily responses to the questions:

(289) *piye Eñdóke*
how-the egg
'How is the egg?'

(290) *sopire piye*
the driver-how
'What happens to the driver?'

(291) *piye rupane*
how-the appearance
'What does he look like?'

(292) *piye kEluwargamu*
how-your family
'How is your family?'

(289a) *Eñdóke kumamban*
the egg-float
'The egg floats'

- (290a) *sopire mati*
the driver-dead
'The driver is dead'
- (291a) *rupane bagos*
the appearance-handsome
'He is handsome'
- (292a) *kulôwargaku slamEt*
my family-safe
'My family is well'

3.3.4.3. Action Question

The Javanese word *ôpô* 'what' may probably appropriately be called a 'pro-verb' in the same way that a noun substitute is called a pronoun, since in a question about the action specification of a verb, the word actually functions as a verb. As a verb substitute, the word *ôpô* 'do what?' is subject to the affixation of the prefix (a)Ns-..., dl-..., taq-... ~ daq-..., kôq-..., with or without the suffix ...-En, ...-ô, or ...-ake (vide 2.4.).

The surface position of *ôpô* 'do what?' is under the constraints mentioned on p.17-18.

The following are examples of action questions, where items numbered with a refer to statement counterparts, which are not necessarily answers to the questions:

- (293) *pardi lagi ñôpô*
Pardi-in the process of-do what?
'What is Pardi doing?'
- (294) *kowe ñôpô saiki*
you-do what?-now
'What are you doing now?'
- (295) *bapaq ñapaqake bôl*
father-do what?-Boy
'What does father do to Boy?'
- (296) *kowe arEp ôpô*
you-will-do what?
- (293a) *pardi lagi turu*
Pardi-in the process of-sleep
'Pardi is sleeping'
- (294a) *aku saiki luñgoh*
I-now-sit
'I am sitting now'
- (295a) *bapaq ñguyañ bôl*
father-bathe-Boy
'Father is bathing Boy'
- (296a) *aku arEp turu*
I-will-sleep
'I am going to sleep'

As a substitute of an action verb, the word *ópó* may also be used in non-questions, where the meaning of the word is *'do something'*.

The following are examples where the word *ópó* *'do something'* occurs (where a reduplication of the word is normal):

- (297) bayEm iki kapaqnó kono
spinach-this-do something!-there
'Do whatever you like with this spinach'
- (298) siman lagi ora ñópóñópó
Siman-in the process of-not-do something
'Siman is doing nothing'

3.3.4.4. Question with *sópó* (Human Noun)

The word *sópó*, which we may call interrogative personal pronoun, may replace an agent noun, a patient noun, a beneficiary noun, or an experiencer noun.

The following are examples where *sópó* *'who'* occurs:

- (299) *sópó* luñó mEñañ sragen
who-go-to-Sragen
'Who goes to Sragen?'
- (300) *sópó* lóró
who-sick
'Who is sick?'
- (301) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu *sópó*
father-buy-shoe-who
'Who does father buy shoes for?'
- (302) *sópó* mulañ sEjarah
who-teach-history
'Who teaches history?'

3.3.4.5. Question with *ópó* (Non-Human Noun)

In some cases, the use of *ópó* *'what'* is not ambiguous, for examples:

- (303) ibu nukóqake ira *ópó*
mother-buy-Ira-what
'What did mother buy for Ira?'
- (304) bapaq ñañken *ópó* mEñañ toko
father-carry-what-to-store
'What did father carry to the store?'

As we have seen in sentences (281) and (282), however, the use of *ópó* in intonationless contexts may give rise to some ambiguity.

3.3.4.6. Question with *Endi*

The word *Endi* *'where'* serves a function to substitute for a locative noun. Accordingly, it is subject to the appropriate preposition for a

particular specification. That is, if the location is stationary, the preposition is eñ 'in, at', which may be preceded by the euphonic element ónó, a locative marker that is identical in form with the only state-locative verb in Javanese, i.e. ónó 'be, exist' (vide p.35), and which is deleted if this state-locative verb occurs, but which may or may not be present with any other verb. This preposition is normally blended with the word Endi: eñEndi ~ ónó eñEndi ~ nēñEndi. If the locative noun refers to origin, the preposition is sókó ~ sóñkó 'from' (vide 2.3.2.2.). If the locative noun refers to goal, the preposition is mEñañ 'to'.

The following are questions with Endi, where items numbered with a refer to statement counterparts, which are not necessarily responses to the questions:

- (305) ira ónó ñEndi
Ira-be-where
'Where is Ira?'
- (306) kayune kumambañ nēñEndi
the timber-float-where
'Where is the timber floating?'
- (307) kowe ñambotgawe eñEndi
you-work-where
'Where do you work?'
- (308) sumi luñó mEñañ Endi
Sumi-go-to-where
'Where did Sumi go?'
- (309) bapaq tEkó sókó ñEndi
father-come-from-where
'Where did father come from?'
- (305a) ira ónó eñ kamar
Ira-be-in-room
'Ira is in the room'
- (306a) kayune kumambañ nēñ kali
the timber-float-in-river
'The timber is floating in the river'
- (307a) aku ñambotgawe nēñ sawah
I-work-in-rice field
'I work in the rice field'
- (308a) sumi luñó mEñañ sEkolahan
Sumi-go-to-school
'Sumi goes to the school'
- (309a) bapaq tEkó sókó pabreq
father-come-from-factory
'Father arrived from the factory'

3.3.4.7. Question with kEnó + ópó

A question may also seek for some information about a certain reason. This question may be focused on the verb or the noun, or the whole semantic structure of the sentence. In English we may use the word 'why' for this purpose. Javanese uses a construction of the word ópó 'what', or just '?', which is preceded by the word kEnó 'connected to', resulting in a combination: kEnó ópó ~ kEnéñópó 'why'. This combination precedes a sentence:

- (310) kEnéñópó kowe nEsu
 why-you-angry
 'Why are you angry?'

3.3.5. Command

A command specifies an action verb in a way that the action is to be instigated by an agent noun that always refers to the interlocutor. As in English, the agent noun is always optional in the surface representation of a Javanese command.

A command may be positive or negative. A positive command is reflected by the affixation of the suffix ...-En or ...-ó (vide 2.6.1.2.). The suffix ...-ó may involve the affixation of the prefix (a)Ns-..., the suffix ...-En does not involve any prefixation.

A negative command is reflected by the peripheral word ójó 'do not', which always precedes the verb.

The following are examples of sentences characterised as negative command:

- (311) ójó lungoh kene
 do not-sit-here
 'Do not sit here'
- (312) ójó nules layañ
 do not-write-letter
 'Do not write a letter'
- (313) kowe ójó luñó
 you-do not-go
 'Do not go'

In some cases, a command may also specify a non-action verb, but which is potentially specifiable as an action-experiential (vide 2.5.9.). For example:

- (314) kowe ójó nEsu
 you-do not-angry
 'Do not be angry'

3.3.6. Potentiality

A modification of a simple sentence that specifies the verb in terms of its potentiality has to do with the expansion of the meaning of the verb on the basis of such notions as permission, probability, or capacity.

Permission is indicated in the surface by the word *olèh* 'permitted' or *kEnò* 'permitted'. Probability is indicated by the word *bisò* 'may'. Capacity is indicated by the word *bisò* 'can, able'.

The peripheral word *olèh* 'permitted' is identical in surface form with the benefactive verb *olèh* 'get'. The peripheral word *kEnò* 'permitted' is identical with another peripheral word that occurs in combination with the question word *ópò*, i.e. *kEnò ópò* 'why'. The peripheral word *bisò* 'may', which is identical in surface form with the peripheral word *bisò* 'can, able', is generally in combination with another peripheral word, i.e. *ugò* 'also', to form *bisòugò* 'may, perhaps, probably', whereby an ambiguity with *bisò* 'can, able' is avoided. These potentiality indicators precede the verb, and in the case of *bisòugò* 'may, perhaps', it may also precede a sentence.

The following are examples of sentences where the verbs are characterised by a specification of potentiality:

- (315) *sariden olèh mañan dageñ*
Saridin-permitted-eat-meat
'Saridin may eat meat'
- (316) *kowe kEnò luñò*
you-permitted-go
'You may go'
- (317) *sumi bisòugò kodanan*
Sumi-perhaps-got rained
'Perhaps Sumi is held by the rain'
- (318) *anaqku bisò ñlañi*
my child-can-swim
'My child can swim'

3.3.7. The Conjunction of Nouns

A modification of a simple sentence may involve an expansion of a noun that occurs in it into a larger unit, which results from conjoining the noun with at least another noun. The conjoining of nouns that is of interest here is one that is reflected in the surface by the conjunctive: *lan* 'and'.

Functioning to conjoin two sentences or two words within a sentence (vide 2.7.2.2.), the word *lan* 'and' is accordingly to be introduced in a simple sentence and, as we shall see in 3.4., also in a compound sentence. This seems justifiable, since by introducing the conjunctive

in the two levels we have a device for clarifying such ambiguous sentences as:

- (319) bapaq lan ibu nukóqake sEpatu ira
father-and-mother-buy-shoes-Ira
'Father and mother buy shoes for Ira'
- (320) sumi lan sardi nundoh katés
Sumi-and-Sardi-pick-papaya
'Sumi and Sardi pick papayas'

In either of these sentences two semantic readings are possible. One reading assigns to the conjoined nouns a function as partners in the instigation of the action, while another reading assigns to the conjoined nouns a function as independent instigators of the same action.

The introduction of *lan* 'and' in a simple sentence as well as in a compound sentence is not without precedent. In English, it is known that for explaining such ambiguous sentences as:

1. John and Mary bought the new book by John Steinbeck
11. The man and the woman waited for the train

the word 'and' should be introduced in both simplex and complex sentences (Smith 1969:75-79).

With reference to a modified simple sentence, *bapaq lan ibu* 'father and mother', and *sumi lan sardi* 'Sumi and Sardi' are compound units, each of which expanded by the conjunction of *bapaq* 'father' and *ibu* 'mother', and *sumi* 'Sumi' and *sardi* 'Sardi' respectively.

To emphasise the unity of the compound, the word: *karo* 'with' may be used in place of *lan* 'and', thus N1 *karo* N2. When the combination: *karo* N2 is separated from the preceding N1, the combination *karo* N1 refers to such a notion is 'in company with N2'.

The following sentences show the contrast between: N1 *karo* N2 and N1 X *karo* N2, where X refers to a verb or a construction of a verb:

- (321) bapaq karo ibu nukóqake sandal ira
father-with-mother-buy-sandal-Ira
'Father and mother (together) buys sandals for Irs'
- (322) bapaq nukóqake sandal ira karo ibu
father-buy-sandal-Ira-with-mother
'Father, accompanied by mother, buys sandals for Ira'

3.4. COMPOUND SENTENCES

The constraints on the compounding of sentences that apply to Javanese, unlike the compounding characteristics applicable to nouns (vide 3.3.7.), are quite different from those that apply to English.

A compound sentence is a surface representation of at least two simple sentences, which are conjoined together under the following

restrictions:

i. Identical elements are not repeated in the final surface representation.

ii. None of the conjoined elements functions to modify or provide any diagnostic of another. In other words, no conjoined element is subordinated to any other.

iii. The conjoining of the simple sentences involves the use of one of the conjunctives, i.e. alternative (vide 2.7.2.1.), inclusive (vide 2.7.2.2.), or contrastive (vide 2.7.2.3.), in which a negative specifier, i.e. ora 'not' (vide 2.7.4.1.) or dudu (vide 2.7.4.2.), may be involved.

Restrictions i.-iii. are responsible for the following surface order rules, where X and Y represent two different verbs; P, Q, R, S, T, Z represent any relevant nouns that may be required by the semantic structure of the verb in a sentence; N1 V N2 N3 as a normal surface order of sentence elements (vide p.78) is represented by [P X R Z], [Q X S Z], [Q Y S Z], [R X R T], etc.; Con refers to any conjunctive; a, b, and c refer to the first sentence to be conjoined, the second sentence, and the resulting compound sentence respectively; + refers to the compounding process:

Rule #68 a[P X R Z] + b[Q X S Z] — →
c[P X R Z Con Q S]

Rule #69 a[P X R Z] + b[Q Y S Z] — →
c[P X R Z Con Q Y S]

Rule #70 a[P X R Z] + b[R X R T] — →
c[P X R Z Con T]

Rule #71 a[P X R Z] + b[P Y S Z] — →
c[P X R Con Y S Z]

Rule #72 a[P X R Z] + b[Q X R Z] — →
c[P Con Q R Z]

The following sentences illustrate the application of the preceding rules for compounding sentences. Rule #68 applies to sentences (323)-(325), the succession of which is in terms of a, b, and c as indicated in the rule. Rule #69 applies to sentences (326)-(328), Rule #70 to sentences (329)-(331), Rule #71 to sentences (332)-(334), and Rule #72 to sentences (335)-(337), all with the same proviso.

(323) bapaq nukôqake sEpatu ira
father-buy-shoes-Ira
'Father buys shoes for Ira'

- (324) ibu nukóqake tas ira
mother-buy-bag-Ira
'Mother buys a bag for Ira'
- (325) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira lan ibu tas
father-buy-shoes-Ira-and-mother-bag
'Father buys shoes for Ira and mother buys a bag for her'
- (326) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira
'Father buys shoes for Ira'
- (327) ibu ngawéqake ròk ira
mother-make-dress-Ira
'Mother makes a dress for Ira'
- (328) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira lan ibu ngawéqake ròk
father-buy-shoes-Ira-and-mother-make-dress
'Father buys shoes for Ira and mother makes a dress for her'
- (329) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira
'Father buys shoes for Ira'
- (330) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu gógór
'Father buys shoes for Gogor'
- (331) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira lan gógór
'Father buys shoes for Ira and Gogor'
- (332) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira
'Father buys shoes for Ira'
- (333) bapaq ngawéqake dolanan ira
father-make-toy-Ira
'Father makes a toy for Ira'
- (334) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu lan ngawéqake dolanan ira
'Father buys shoes and makes a toy for Ira'
- (335) bapaq nukóqake sEpatu ira
'Father buys shoes for Ira'
- (336) ibu nukóqake sEpatu ira
'Mother buys shoes for Ira'
- (337) bapaq lan ibu nukóqake sEpatu ira
'Father and mother buy shoes for Ira'

The introduction of the word: *lan* 'and' in the level of simple sentences takes care of one semantic reading where N1 *lan* N2 in sentence (337) is considered as one unit (vide 3.3.7.), while the introduction of the conjunctive in the level of compound sentences is responsible for the distinction of the two agents of such a potentially ambiguous sentence as (337).

The following examples illustrate the use of a contrastive conjunctive which involves a negative specifier:

- (338) iki dudu lele nañeñ wElot
this-not-catfish-but-eel
'This is not a catfish, but an eel'

- (339) aku ora nEsu nañeñ mañkEl
I-not-angry-but-annoyed
'I am not angry, but annoyed'

3.5. COMPLEX SENTENCES

A complex sentence is a surface representation of at least two simple sentences, in which a process of embedding of one simple sentence into another, i.e. the matrix sentence, is involved. The embedded sentence is subordinated to the matrix sentence, i.e. it serves to provide further semantic diagnostics for the matrix.

In the surface, the presence of an embedded sentence may be indicated by a relator or a conjunctive, which always precedes it or its reduced form, or it may be represented merely by its verb.

Javanese complex sentences may be subdivided into three types: (a) those where the embedding process involves a complementation to the noun or nouns of the matrix sentence, (b) those where the embedding process involves a complementation to the verb of the matrix sentence, and (c) those where the embedding process involves a specification of the whole semantic structure of the matrix sentence.

The embedded sentence that functions to complement a verb or a noun is generally included within the matrix sentence, in which a physical boundary such as pause is always optional. The embedded sentence that serves to specify or modify the whole semantic structure of the matrix sentence is generally separated from the matrix by an obligatory boundary, normally in the form of a rising intonation and a slight pause.

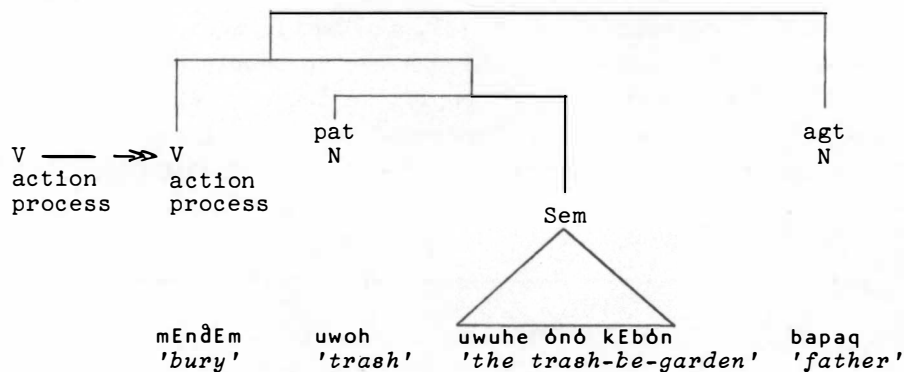
3.5.1. Noun and Verb Complementations

If the matrix sentence is a construction of a verb specified as non-state, only a noun complementation occurs. If the matrix sentence is a construction of a state verb, a noun complementation as well as a verb complementation may occur.

3.5.1.1. Patient Noun Complementation

The structure of a complex sentence in which a complementation of the patient noun occurs with a non-state verb may be indicated in the following rule and exemplified by sentence (340), where Sem refers to the embedded sentence:

Rule #73



- (340) bapaq mEndEm uwoh señ ónó kEbón
 father-bury-trash-which-be-garden
 'Father buried the trash which was in the garden'

Since the word ónó also serves as a part of a complex preposition (vide p.35, p.73), the use of the relator señ 'which' in (340) is crucial. The different is shown in sentence (341):

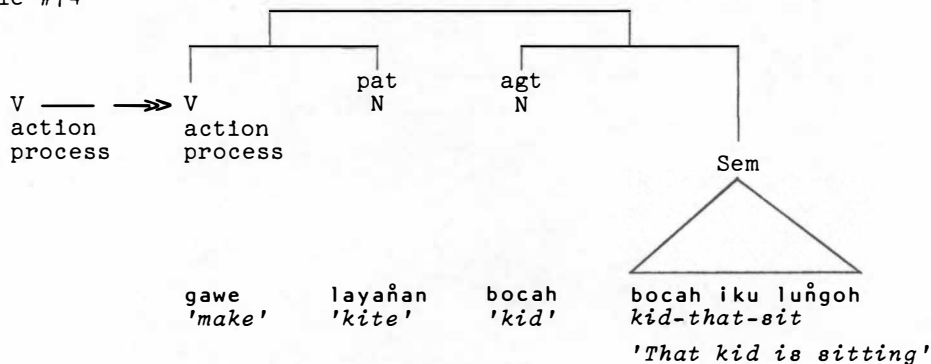
- (341) bapaq mEndEm uwoh ónó kEbón
 father-bury-trash-in-garden
 'Father buried the trash in the garden'

Here the word en 'in, at', which normally occurs after the word ónó is not reflected in the surface.

3.5.1.2. Agent Noun Complementation

The structure of a complex sentence in which a complementation of the agent noun occurs may be indicated in the following rule and exemplified by sentence (342), where the relator is optional:

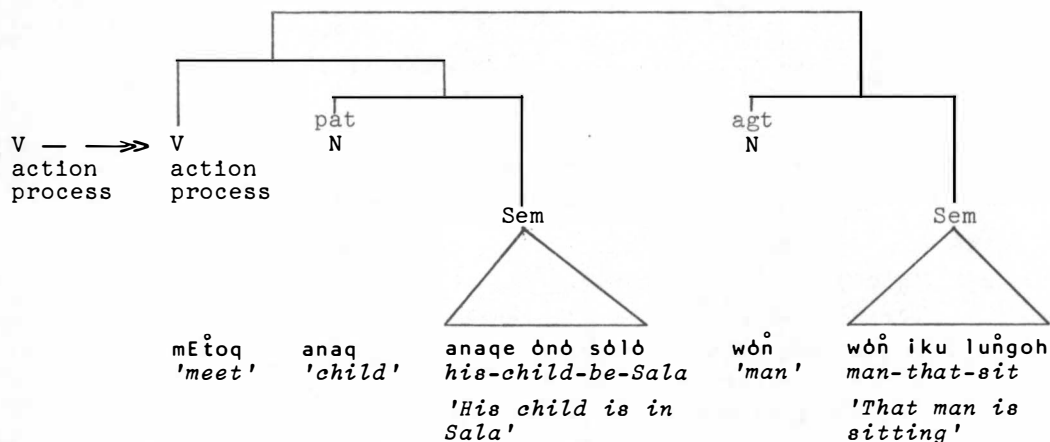
Rule #74



- (342) bocah (señ) luñgoh iku gawe layañan
 kid-(who)-sit-that-make-kite
 'The kid who is sitting there is making a kite'

Since an action-process verb may have two or more valences and thus require two or more nouns (vide p.75), a complex sentence may involve two or more embedded sentences, which serve to complement the nouns that occur in it. The structure of a complex sentence in which a complementation to the agent noun and a complementation to the patient noun occur may be indicated in the following rule and exemplified by sentence (343):

Rule #75

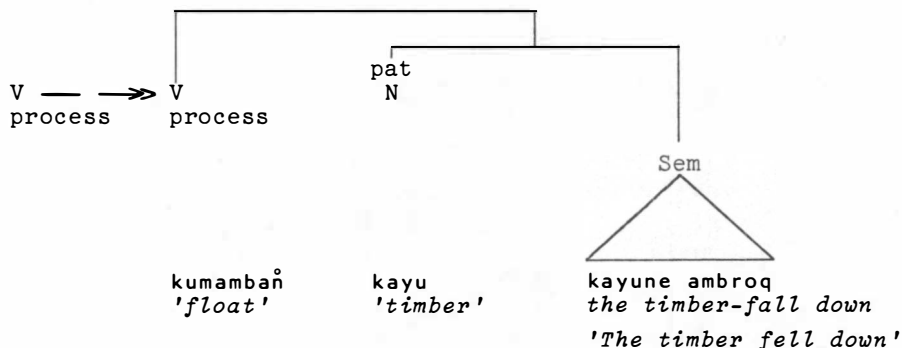


- (343) wòn seṅ lùṅṅoh iku mEtoq anaqe seṅ ònò sòlò
man-who-sit-that-meet-his child-who-be-Sala
'The man who is sitting there is meeting his child who is in Sala'

3.5.1.3. Patient Noun Complementation with a Process Verb

The structure of a complex sentence in which a complementation of the patient noun occurs with a process verb may be indicated in the following rule and exemplified by sentence (344):

Rule #76

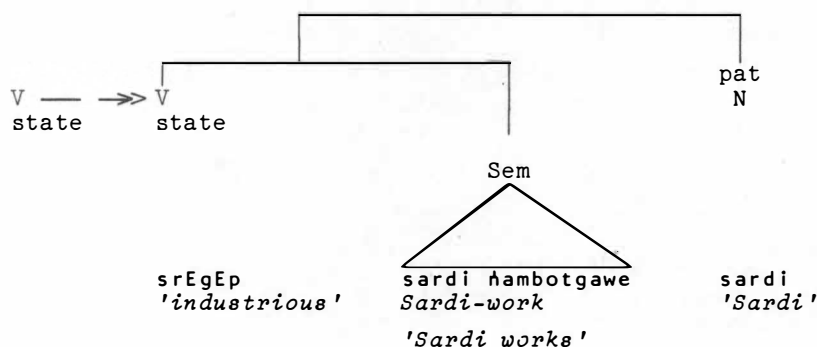


- (344) *kayune señ ambroq kumambañ*
the timber-which-fall down-float
'The timber which fell down is floating'

3.5.1.4. Verb Complementation

The structure of a complex sentence in which a complementation of a verb, i.e. a state verb (vide 3.5.1.), occurs may be indicated in the following rule and exemplified by sentence (345):

Rule #77



- (345) *sardi srEgEp hambotgawe*
Sardi-industrious-work
'Sardi is industrious to work'

The distinction between a noun complementation and a verb complementation may not be clearly shown in the surface representation, particularly in such cases where a single surface form of two different verbs is involved. For example, sentence (346) and sentence (347) seem to be identical in structure as far as the verb complementation goes:

- (346) *sardi sEnEñ ñrewañi ibune*
Sardi-like-help-his mother
'Sardi likes to help his mother'
- (347) *sardi srEgEp ñrewañi ibune*
Sardi-industrious-help-his mother
'Sardi is industrious in helping his mother'

But the word *sEnEñ* represents two distinct verbs, one is a state verb, another a non-state verb:

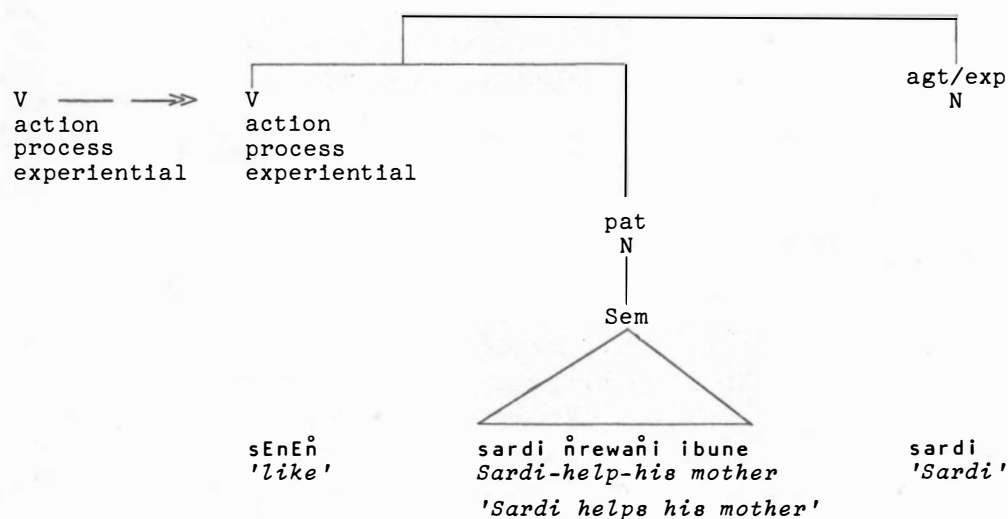
- (348) *sardi sEnEñ*
Sardi-happy
'Sardi is happy'
- (349) *sardi sEnEñ sate*
Sardi-like-meat grills
'Sardi likes meat grills'

In (346) the verb *sEnEn* is clearly specified as non-state, which functions as the nucleus of the sentence, which is structurally identical with (349), i.e.: N V X where X is the phrase: *ñrewañi ibune* 'help his mother' in (346), but the noun: *sate* 'meat grills' in (349). Furthermore, the phrase: *nrewañi ibune* 'help his mother' in (346) is obviously derived from a simple sentence:

- (350) *sardi ñrewañi ibune*
'Sardi helps his mother'

In other words, whereas (347) is configurationally identical with (345), where a verb complementation is involved, (346) is of a totally different configuration, where a noun complementation is involved, which may be indicated in the following rule:

Rule #78



Another evidence that in (346) we have a noun complementation as contrasted to a verb complementation as shown in (347) is shown by the acceptability of the topicalisation of the phrase: *ñrewañi ibune* 'help his mother' as shown in (351) below, in which the phrase clearly functions as a noun. Such a topicalisation, in which an inflectional specification in terms of passive voice is involved (vide p.28), is not acceptable with *ñrewañi ibune* 'help his mother' as shown in (352) below, where the nucleus of the sentence is a state verb, which is never subject to a passive specification, i.e. *disrEgEpi.

- (351) *ñrewañi ibune disEnEni sardi*
help-his mother-liked-Sardi
'Helping his mother is liked by Sardi'
- (352) **ñrewañi ibune disrEgEpi sardi*

3.5.2. Zero Antecedent

The word *señ* 'who, which' functions to refer to its antecedent. An antecedent may or may not be present in the surface representation of a complex sentence. It is generally absent when a context, mostly non-linguistic, is clear that an antecedent will be redundant. This absence of antecedent in the surface may be called a case of zero antecedent. Zero antecedent takes place when the antecedent is specified as +Human and -Unique. For example, in a public announcement where it is commonly understood that *sópò wae* 'whoever' is to be concerned with the subject matter of the announcement, the antecedent is absent:

- (353) *señ nEmeq mati*
who-touch-dead

'(Any one) who touches will be dead'.

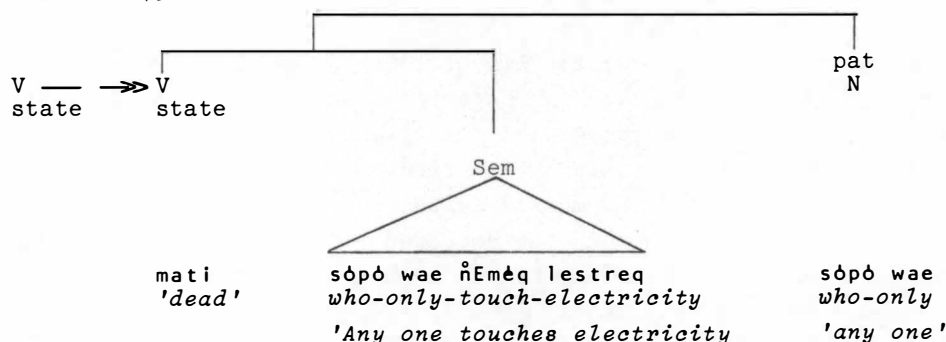
Sentence (353), which may be found in a context where a high-tension utility pole is around, is apparently complex and derived from sentence (354) and (355), both of which are simple sentences:

- (354) *sópò wae nEmeq lestreq*
who-only-touch-electricity
'Any one touches electricity'

- (355) *sópò wae mati*
who-only-dead
'Any one is dead'

The embedding process which results in sentence (353) may be indicated in the following rule:

Rule #79



The redundant representation, i.e. where the antecedent occurs, is either (356) or (357):

- (356) *señ sópò nEmeq lestreq mati*
who-who-touch-electricity-dead
'Any one who touches electricity will be dead'

- (357) *sópò señ nEmeq lestreq mati*
'Any one who touches electricity will be dead'

In the process, the antecedent *sópó < sópó wae* 'any one, whoever' is deleted, so is the word *lestreq* 'electricity', since the warning is given in the area of electricity.

Zero antecedent is found in many stereotyped sayings such as:

- (358) *señ salah séléh*
who-wrong-not used
'Those who do wrong will be punished'
- (359) *señ bEceq kEtiteq señ óló kEtóró*
who-good-recognised-who-bad-apparent
'The good and the bad will be distinct'
- (360) *señ sabar subor*
who-patient-prosperous
'Those who are patient will be rewarded'

3.5.3. The Specification of the Whole Matrix Sentence

An embedded sentence that specifies the whole semantic structure of the matrix sentence may be in the form of one of what are generally known as adverbial clauses of condition, location, manner, time.

3.5.3.1. Conditional Sentence

A conditional sentence expresses a circumstance implying the consequence that is contained in the matrix sentence. A conditional sentence in Javanese normally precedes the matrix sentence.

The surface marker of a conditional sentence is one of the four conditional conjunctives: *yén* 'if', *manówó* 'if', *añgEr* 'if, provided', and *upómó* 'if' (vide 2.7.2.4.). Each of these conjunctives introduces the embedded sentence in the surface linear representation.

The words *yén* 'if' and *manówó* 'if' occur in a sentence characterised as what is generally known as Open Condition (Zandvoort 1966:218). The word *manówó* 'if' is more stylish and less frequent than *yén* 'if'.

A deletion of a noun from the matrix sentence is normal, when such a noun is identical with a noun in the embedded sentence. The following are conditional sentences where a noun has been deleted from the matrix sentence (vide also sentence (159)):

- (361) *yén kowe lóró kEno lérén*
if-you-sick-permitted-stop
'If you are sick, you may take a break'
- (362) *yén sumi ónó undañEn rene*
if-Sumi-be-call!-here
'If Sumi is in, ask her to come here'

In the following sentences such a deletion is not made, since the noun in the matrix sentence is different from the noun in the embedded sentence:

- (363) yèn kowe lórò aku ora sidd luñò
if-you-sick-I-not-eventually-go
'If you are sick, I will not go'
- (364) yèn sumi ònò aku arEp mrònò
if-Sumi-be-I-will-go there
'If Sumi is in, then I will go there'

The word upómò 'if' occurs in a sentence characterised as what is known as Rejected Condition (Zandvoort 1966:218).

The following are conditional sentences where upómò 'if' is used:

- (365) upómò aku ñErti mEsti mEñoq kowe
if-I-know-for sure-meet-you
'Had I known, I would have met you'
- (366) upómò ðèwèqe waras aku ora wEdi
if-he-sane-I-not-afraid
'If he were sane, I would not be afraid'

The word aṅgEr 'if' may occur in an open conditional sentence or in a conditional sentence referring to a promise (vide sentence (161)). The words yèn and aṅgEr also reflect such a temporal meaning as 'when'. This will be discussed in 3.5.3.4.

In some cases, a conditional sentence is not explicitly marked by a conditional conjunctive, particularly when a zero antecedent is involved, e.g.:

- (367) sen kéri nutop lawañ
who-remain behind-close-door
'Those who leave later, (please) close the door'

3.5.3.2. Locative Sentence

A locative sentence complements a locative noun of the matrix sentence that occurs as a consequence of a locative specification of the verb of the matrix sentence. As a noun complementation, a locative sentence may involve the use of the relator señ 'who, which' (vide 3.5.1.1., 3.5.1.2., 3.5.1.3.). The locative specification of the verb and the related noun is indicated by one of the prepositions mentioned in 2.7.4.2.

The following are complex sentences where a locative sentence occurs:

- (368) jam sóñò aku kudu mañkat mEhañ papan señ wes ditEñEri carañ preñ
hour-nine-I-must-depart-to-place-which-already-marked-twig-bamboo
'At nine o'clock I must already have gone to the place which was previously marked with a bamboo twig'
- (369) aku tòmpò layañ sókò aḍiku señ ònò jakarta
I-receive-letter-from-my younger sibling-who-be-Jakarta
'I got a letter from my younger brother who is now in Jakarta'

3.5.3.3. Manner Sentence

A manner sentence specifies the verb of the matrix sentence. It may be introduced by a peripheral word such as *kóyó* 'like', *paribasan* 'proverbially as', or the combination of these two words: *paribasan(e) kóyó* 'as if'.

The following are complex sentences where a manner sentence occurs:

- (370) *siti biñoñ kóyó babón kelañan kuťuqe*
Siti-in panic-like-hen-losing-her fledgelings
'Siti is in a panic like a hen losing her fledgelings'
- (371) *aku ñambotgawe paribasan sirah taqEñgo sikel sikel taqEñgo sirah*
I-work-proverbially as-head-used by me-leg-leg-used by me-head
'I work very hard (as if I used my head for my leg and my leg for my head)'
- (372) *gEgErku gatEl kóyó diEntop tawón*
my back-itching-like-stung-bee
'My back is itching as if it were stung by a bee'

3.5.3.4. Temporal Sentence

A temporal sentence functions as a reference of time in its relation to the semantic structure of the matrix sentence.

In the surface representation, a temporal sentence may precede or follow the matrix sentence. Its occurrence is introduced by one of the temporal words (vide 2.7.2.5.).

Javanese temporal sentences may be subdivided into four types:

- (i) those that indicate a reference of general time sequence in relation to the matrix sentence, (ii) those that indicate a reference of coincidence, (iii) those that indicate a reference of futurity, (iv) those that indicate a reference of past time.

3.5.3.4.1. Sequential Temporal Sentence

A sequential temporal sentence indicates a reference of time sequence in terms of such notions as 'before X, Y', or 'after X, Y', where X is the embedded sentence, and Y is the matrix sentence. A sequential temporal sentence may be introduced by the word *saduruñe* 'before' or *sawise* 'after'.

The following are complex sentences where a sequential temporal sentence occurs:

- (373) *saduruñe aku mañkat mEñañ irian aku ñEkar Embah kakoñ*
before-I-depart-to-Irian-I-put flowers on the grave-grandparent-male
'Before I went to Irian I put flowers on the grave of grand-father'

- (374) sawise sardi luñó kampon kene dadi tEntrEm
after-Sardi-go-neighbourhood-here-become-peaceful
'After Sardi left, this neighbourhood became safe'

3.5.3.4.2. Coincidental Temporal Sentence

A coincidental temporal sentence indicates a time reference that is more or less simultaneous with the time implied in the matrix sentence. A coincidental temporal sentence is introduced by the word sajrone 'during, while', or the word aŋgEr(e), which is also used to indicate a conditional sentence (vide p.107) and which in a temporal sentence reflects the meaning: 'any time'. The word aŋgEr(e) 'any time' may induce the use of the word malah 'even' or mEsti 'for sure'.

The following are complex sentences where a coincidental temporal sentence occurs:

- (375) sajrone aku luñó bojoku tuŋgu omah
while-I-go-my spouse-watch-house
'While I was away, my wife watched the house'
- (376) aŋgEre ira ŋgówó payon malah ora udan
any time-Ira-carry-umbrella-even-not-it rains
'Any time Ira carries an umbrella, it never rains'

In place of aŋgEr(e) 'any time', which refers to a general instance of repetition, the word sabEn 'each time', which refers to an emphasised individual instance, may be used, e.g.:

- (377) sabEn aku kruŋu suwaramu kupeñku dadi buðEk
each time-I-hear-your voice-my ears-become-deaf
'Each time I hear your voice, I cannot hear anything else'

3.5.3.4.3. Future Temporal Sentence

A future temporal sentence provides a future time reference. In the surface representation, when no emphasis on the matrix sentence is involved, a future temporal sentence precedes the matrix sentence. Otherwise, it follows the matrix sentence.

A future temporal sentence is introduced by the word yèn 'when', which is identical in form with the conditional marker yèn 'if' (vide p.107), and which may involve the use of the word wes 'already', which precedes the verb of the temporal sentence.

The use of yèn in a conditional sentence is responsible for the ambiguity between a conditional sentence and a temporal sentence.

The following are complex sentences where a future temporal sentence occurs:

- (378) yèn kowe wes tEkan sEmarañ ójó lali kirem layañ aku
when-you-already-arrive in-Semarang-do not-forget-send-letter-I
'When you have arrived in Semarang, do not forget to write me'

- (379) yèn kumbahanku wes gareñ aku lagi bisò luñò
when-my laundry-already-dry-I-only then-can-go
'I will only be able to go when my laundry is dry'

3.5.3.4.4. Past Temporal Sentence

A past temporal sentence provides a past time reference. It normally precedes the matrix sentence.

A past temporal sentence is introduced by the word *nalikò* 'when', or less stylishly by the word *ðeq* 'when', or the combination *ðeq nalikò* 'when'. A past temporal sentence may also be introduced by the word *sasuwene* 'during the period of' or *saplòqe* 'since the time of', where there is an implication that the present time is also included.

The following are complex sentences where a past temporal sentence occurs:

- (380) *nalikò gunoñ kElot nJEblok aku lagi goléq sEkolahan*
when-mount-Kelud-explode-I-in the process of-search for-school
'When mount Kelud exploded, I was looking for a school'
- (381) *ðeq aku iseh cileq aku sEnEn adu jañkreng*
when-I-still-small-I-like-fight-cricket
'When I was small, I liked the game of cricket-fight'
- (382) *saplòqe joko dadi guru ðewéqe ora tau turu kene*
since the time of-Joko-become-teacher-he-not-ever-sleep-here
'Joko has never slept here since he became a teacher'

CHAPTER 4

SPEECH DECORUM AS A MEANING MARKER

4.1. SPEECH DECORUM AS A MEANING MARKER

Speech decorum, as a system of constraints on language use, in which is involved at least the proper choice of vocabulary items, is presumably based on extra-linguistic factors and not language specific. In English, Joos (1967) recognised different styles of usage, each of which is only appropriate for a particular purpose.

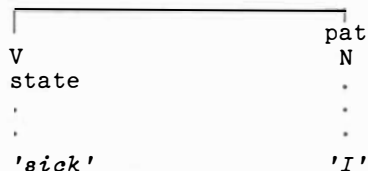
A description of speech decorum necessarily impinges upon the grammatical aspect as well as the communicative aspect of the language under consideration. The grammatical aspect has to do with clarifications about sentence structures and sentence components. These clarifications may be necessary for the distinction of the structures of, for example, such English expressions as '*Good bye*', '*Have a nice trip*', '*I'll see you*', '*See ya*', '*Take care*'. The communicative aspect has to do with clarifications about when and to whom each of the expressions may be appropriately used. One of these clarifications will, for instance, show us that while '*Good bye*' may be said to the president of the United States, '*Take care*' may not. This kind of clarification clearly belongs to the semantic level, if the levels of syntax and semantics can, indeed, be separated at all. At this level, the picture of the contexts of speech use, i.e. the parting with one's interlocutor, cannot be said to be simplicistically identical. There are factors involved that have to do with the education, social status, and perhaps psychological disposition of the speaker and listener.

In other Indo-European languages such as Dutch, French, and German, the propriety of addressing one's interlocutor as 'U' or 'je', 'tu' or 'vous', or 'du' or 'Sie' is under strict constraints inherited and respected by the speech community concerned. A native speaker of these languages knows that he has to heed the constraints in order that his

speech not only be understandable but also acceptable. As is now already known, the different uses of the second-person-singular pronouns have to do with the type of relationship that obtains between a speaker and his interlocutor (vide Brown and Gilman 1968:253-276).

Javanese speech decorum, which has come under the attention of linguistic scholars for centuries, is manifested by its complex system of address references, vocabulary usage, and affixations. It is generally known that the history of the complexity of the Javanese vocabulary usage is quite recent. Not until the sixteenth century did Javanese speech decorum develop from a complex pronoun system and word-ending variation into a more elaborate range of choices of vocabulary items whereby the present language is characterised (Gonda 1947:363).

As an illustration of the complexity of the Javanese pronoun system and vocabulary usage, a state verb construction such as:



may be represented in the surface structure by at least three sentences, which result from the fact that *lóró* is 'sick', *saket* is 'sick', and *gErah* is also 'sick', whereas *aku* is 'I', *kuló* is 'I', and *dalEm* is also 'I'.

A Javanese speaker of Surukarta is likely to know that the following sentences are acceptable:

- (383) *aku lóró 'I am sick'*
- (384) *kuló saket 'I am sick'*
- (385) *dalEm saket 'I am sick'*

He may also be able to point out that

- (386) *dalEm lóró 'I am sick'*

is acceptable in certain families.

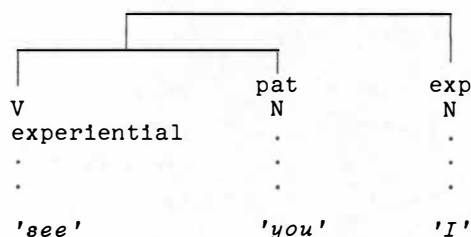
However, the Javanese speaker will react to the following as unacceptable:

- (387) **aku saket*
- (388) **kuló lóró*
- (389) **kuló gErah*
- (390) **dalEm gErah*
- (391) **aku gErah*

A general explanation that may be given is that *saket* 'sick' can only be used with the patient noun *kuló* 'I' or the patient noun *dalEm*

'I', but never with the patient noun *aku* 'I', and also that the state verb *gErah* 'sick' is to be used with care. The state verb *gErah* does not allow 'first person' as a reference to the patient noun it requires. This verb requires a patient noun that refers to someone whom the speaker respects and calls *panjEnĒñan* 'you', but not *kowe* 'you' or *sampeyan* 'you', in which respect as a characteristic feature of speech communication is not as predominant as in *panjEnĒñan* 'you'. Therefore, in circumstances where *gErah* 'sick' is used for *aku* 'I', *kulò* 'I', or *dalEm* 'I', a speech decorum violation takes place, since under the Javanese social constraints, an overt self-respect is conceit. This is where the violator will be referred to as *ora jòwò* 'not Javanese', or *ora bisò bósò* 'not able to speak properly'. The use of a word that is appropriately applicable to others but too good for oneself is a communicative mistake.

Another example at hand is an experiential verb construction such as:



where 'see' may be *wEroh*, *sumErEp*, or *persò*; 'you' may be *kowe*, *sampeyan*, or *panjEnĒñan*; 'I' may be *aku*, *kulò*, or *dalEm*.

A Javanese speaker will know that (392)–(395) are acceptable, and that (396) may be used by educated intimates and also by a wife to her husband but not vice versa:

- (392) *aku wEroh kowe* 'I see you'
 (393) *kulò sumErEp sampeyan* 'I see you'
 (394) *kulò sumErEp panjEnĒñan* 'I see you'
 (395) *dalEm sumErEp panjEnĒñan* 'I see you'
 (396) *aku wEroh panjEnĒñan* 'I see you'

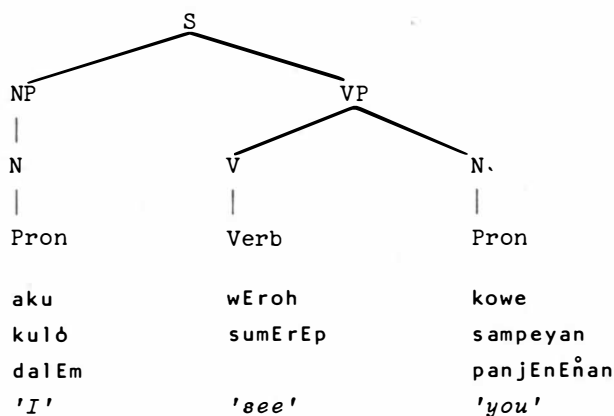
If the experiencer noun is 'you' instead of 'I', and if the patient noun is 'I' instead of 'you', a Javanese speaker will also know that (397)–(400) are acceptable, and that (401) may normally be used by educated intimates and also by a wife to her husband but not vice versa:

- (397) *kowe wEroh aku* 'You see me'
 (398) *sampeyan sumErEp kulò* 'You see me'
 (399) *panjEnĒñan persò kulò* 'You see me'
 (400) *panjEnĒñan persò dalEm* 'You see me'
 (401) *panjEnĒñan persò aku* 'You see me'

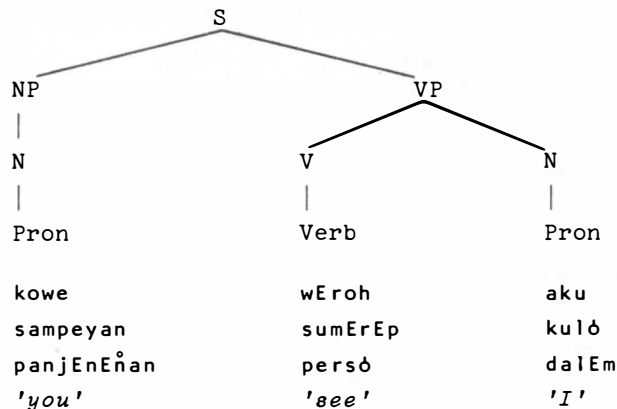
Logically, sentences (392)-(396) are factually equivalent, i.e. one of them can not be true if any one of the others is false (vide Leech 1969:9). So are sentences (397)-(401). But the fact that some logical equivalence does prevail among either of the two sets of sentences does not provide any clarification as to when and to whom a Javanese speaker may use one of (392)-(396), or, in the case of the interchange of the experiencer noun and the patient noun, one of (397)-(401).

In the most oversimplified transformational generative terms, we may present the structural description (SD) of sentences (392)-(396) by means of a tree-diagram which is also similarly applicable to sentences (397)-(401), e.g.:

a.



b.

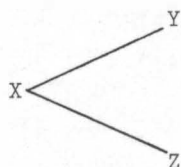


Apparently, a clarification must be provided concerning the introduction of *persò 'see'* as a lexical entry in the SD of b. *'You see me'*, which is absent in the SD of a. *'I see you'*. In other words, what is involved here is more than a mere ordering of lexical entries, the appropriate choice of which is to be explained in terms of semantics rather than syntax.

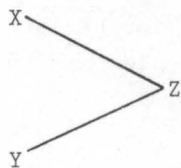
With reference to Javanese sentences, at least such as shown by (392)-(401), the choice of the appropriate words has to be determined by a set of selectional rules quite different in nature from those suggested in transformational generative grammar, where such social factors as differences of age, status, rank, are obviously left out of account. These factors are essential in Javanese, and are responsible for the constraints that make one sentence more courteous than another.

Given such sentences as '*I see you*' and '*You see me*', an English speaker will know that the first sentence tells him what the speaker experiences, i.e. seeing his interlocutor, whereas the second sentence tells him what his interlocutor experiences, i.e. seeing the speaker. These two different meanings are also perceivable in the Javanese sentences (392)-(396) as contrasted to (397)-(401). However, despite the translatability of sentences (392)-(396) into '*I see you*', and the translatability of sentences (397)-(401) into '*You see me*', there are constraints that are imposed on a Javanese speaker which forbid the haphazard use of (392)-(396) or (397)-(401) without taking into consideration to whom he is speaking. This raises the question whether sentences (392)-(396) have the same referent, i.e. '*I see you*', and also whether sentences (397)-(401) have the same referent, i.e. '*You see me*'.

We shall maintain that sentences (392)-(396) are different sentences, i.e. having different referents, which can only, incidentally, be translated into English as '*I see you*'. Similarly, sentences (397)-(401) also have different referents, which English is only capable of translating as '*You see me*'. Our position here is based on a Chafean assumption that in any language there is always an imbalance between the vast repertoire of meanings and the limited repertoire of physical elements that can convert the meanings into sound in a one-to-one correspondence. In other words, a case of one-many mapping, e.g.

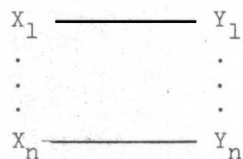


where X is a meaning, Y and Z are surface representations, and $Y \neq Z$, is rare in language, whereas a case of many-one mapping, e.g.



where X and Y are meanings and $X \neq Y$, and Z is a surface representation, is frequent in language.

In sentences (392)-(396) and (397)-(401), we have what would look like:

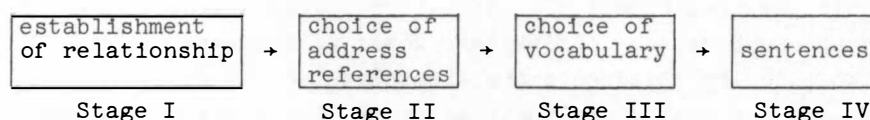


where $X_1 \dots X_n$ = meanings; $Y_1 \dots Y_n$ = surface representations; $X_1 \neq X_2 \neq X_3 \dots \text{etc.}$; $Y_1 \neq Y_2 \neq Y_3 \dots \text{etc.}$

The meaning differences are determined by the different types of relationships which a speaker chooses to establish toward his interlocutor, and which are accordingly reflected in the different surface representations. Obviously, such factors as formality, intimacy, respect, courtesy, status equality or difference, which play a significant role on the part of a speaker for sizing up, communicatively, his interlocutor, belong to the extralinguistic realm. Accordingly, there is more than one, colourless, type of relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor. The relationship may be said to be Horizontal, i.e. where it is directed toward an equal, or Downward, i.e. where it is directed toward an interlocutor of inferior status, or Upward, i.e. where it is directed toward an interlocutor of superior status. Furthermore, viewed from either side of the speech participants, regardless of actual social differences, the relationship may be reciprocal or non-reciprocal.

To a certain extent, the choice of appropriate lexical and syntactical elements is a matter of selectional rules as suggested by Chomsky (1965:96-97 and 113-120), particularly those that have to do with the choice of lexical entries characterising the lexical elements of a sentence. It is generally known, however, that transformational generative grammar does not include in its consideration the explanation of sentence use and comprehension in terms of the communicative attitude of the speaker toward his interlocutor (vide Katz and Fodor 1963:171-174; also Katz 1964:4, n.1). This is most probably because such a communicative attitude is not reflected in the surface representation of English in any way that is similar to what is reflected in Japanese surface representation.

In the framework that is followed in this study, it seems correct to assume that the use of Japanese sentences may be describable as taking the following stages:



While stages I-IV are obviously communicative stages, which are depicted as being sequential just for the sake of convenience, they are nevertheless parallel with the stages of the conversion of meaning to sound as suggested by Chafe (1970b:56). Stage I is concomitant with the processes of semantic formation, selectional specification, inflectional specification, and perhaps also derivational specification. Under the constraints that originate from stage I, stages II-IV are governed by rules of the lexical specification processes which are responsible for the distinction between the Javanese courteous words and the non-courteous words, as well as those words where courtesy is irrelevant.

4.2. TRADITIONAL TERMINOLOGIES OF SPEECH DECORUM

The notion that the stock of the Javanese lexicon consists of the so-called Ngoko, i.e. non-courteous, words and non-Ngoko, i.e. courteous, words has been known not only in the grammars of Javanese accessible to us, but also among speakers of Javanese.

The term Ngoko derives from the reduplicated stem *ko*, which forms the basis of the word *kowe* 'you', the 'tu' and not the 'vous' form of the singular second person ("De benaming 'ngoko' is een werkwoordsvorm, gemaakt van den verdubbelden stam *ngoko* waaruit ook *ngoko* ontstaan is", Walbeehm 1896:29; vide also Prijohoetomo 1937:25).

In general, a non-Ngoko word is also known as Krama, which refers to 'propriety' or 'courtesy', a notion which also applies to 'marriage' or 'get married' as a vertex of code-abiding social relationship between a man and a woman. The use of Ngoko words, particularly when a switch from the use of Krama words is involved, is also known as Nungkak Krama, literally 'step on the courtesy code', where disrespect or even disdain toward one's interlocutor may develop.

In the tradition of Javanese grammar writing, the Javanese lexicon has been subject to classification from two to ten in number. The modern trend is in favour of the classification into two classes: Ngoko words and Krama words (Purbatjaraka 1958; Horne 1964:4). More detailed classifications and terms other than Ngoko and Krama, however, still persist in some places (Poedjosoedarmo 1968; Sumukti, 1971). A typical example at hand is a textbook used in Teacher High Schools, which has been reprinted several times. Apparently borrowing freely

from the existing traditional classifications, Padmosoekotjo (1958:13-17) presented eight classes of Javanese words as follows:

1. Ngoko, used by children among themselves, by older persons to younger persons, by masters to their servants, where respect is absent.

2. Ngoko Andap

- a. Antya Basa, used by older persons to high-ranking younger persons, and by members of the privileged class who are intimate with each other.

- b. Basa Antya, used by older persons to high-ranking younger persons.

3. Basa Madya

- a. Madya Ngoko, used by small traders among themselves.

- b. Madyantara, used by members of the lower middle class among themselves, and by a member of the privileged class to another and to his lower-ranking kin.

- c. Madyakrama, used by a wife to her husband, when the husband is a member of the privileged class.

4. Basa Krama

- a. Krama Lugu, used by common people among themselves, and by older persons to young strangers who have no rank.

- b. Muda Krama, used by younger persons to older persons, by students to their teacher, and by members of the privileged class among themselves.

- c. Wreda Krama, used by older persons to younger persons.

5. Krama Inggil, similar to Muda Krama except for the use of 'adalem', 'abdi dalem', 'kawula', or 'abdi-dalem-kawula' in lieu of 'kula'; it is used by members of the lower classes of society to members of the higher class.

6. Krame Desa, used by peasants and illiterates.

7. Basa Kasar, rude language, used by angry persons.

8. Basa Kadaton (Basa Bagongan), used within a palace by members of the royal family and the king's subjects among themselves.

Ample illustrations were also supplied with this classification. This kind of classification, which keeps appearing in many works on the grammar of Javanese, is subject to severe criticisms. Not only is the description of the social strata misleading, but also the main basis for different usages, most probably due to the striving for a perfect description of subtle differentiations of usages, is blurred.

The only indication of the pivotal basis for different usages shown in the traditional literature is the ever-present, but nevertheless correct, warning that Krama Inggil 'high courteous' words are never to be applied for oneself. As we shall see, however, the different usages

follow a set of more or less regular rules which bear on the different types of relationships a speaker selects to use with his interlocutor.

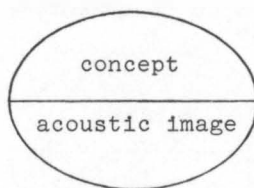
The Ngoko-Krama distinction, as a linguistic and social constraint, cannot be ignored. What is most pertinent to us, however, is not what word is Ngoko and what other word is Krama, but rather what relationship there is between the speaker and his interlocutor, which entails the inevitable choice of appropriate vocabulary items.

4.3. ADDRESS REFERENCES AS PARAMETERS

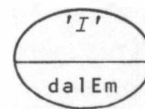
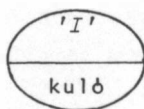
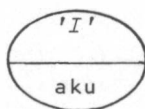
The view that aku 'I', kuló 'I', and dalEm 'I' are words of different meanings as are kowe 'you', sampeyan 'you', and panjEnEñan 'you', seems more tenable than, for instance, a position which calls them morphological variants. One obvious reason is that the different distributions of the words are not determined by any surface constraint, but rather by semantic ones.

Furthermore, if we take into consideration the notion of linguistic 'sign' as generally understood in the Saussurian tradition, our position also seems justifiable. According to de Saussure (1966:66) a linguistic sign is a psychological associative combination of concept and acoustic image. This entity, like the sides of a piece of paper, is indissoluble in the sense that each exists only by virtue of their association, and also that a breaking down of either aspect will result in the destroying the linguistic sign as a unit.

If we use de Saussure's representation of a linguistic sign:

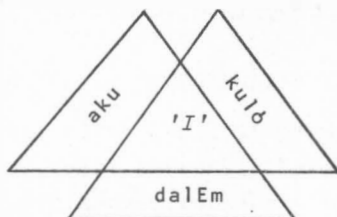


we would accordingly have separate entities for such notions referring to the first person that English has only one equivalent, i.e. 'I', as may be shown as follows:



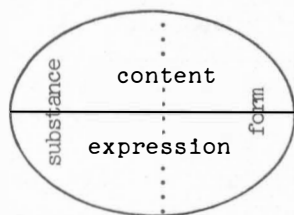
In other words, in Javanese there are, at least, three different concepts referring to what is known as 'the first person', which are associated with three different acoustic images. This differentiation of the notion of 'the first person' into three different concepts is justified by the fact that a Javanese speaker views his relationship

with his addressee in one of various ways, each of which is marked in his use of language by a different set of pronouns, where a haphazard interchange is likely to mar the code of propriety, though not necessarily of comprehension. This is clearly contrary to the view that *aku* 'I', *kułó* 'I', and *dalEm* 'I' are merely surface variants or synonyms, which may be described as a one-many mapping in the following way:



By the same token, we cannot say that 'you' means exactly the same as 'thou' in English. Yet, the Saussurian notion that seems convenient for describing the distinction between *aku* 'I', *kułó* 'I', and *dalEm* 'I', and also the distinction between 'you' and 'thou', does not seem to accommodate necessary clarifications of what word to use to whom.

We owe most probably to Hjemslev for his elaboration of the Saussurian concept of linguistic sign. Hjemslev accepted de Saussure's concept of the associative combination of Concept and Acoustic Image, which Hjemslev called Content and Expression respectively. But Hjemslev required further that distinction be made between form and substance in both levels of content and expression. Accordingly, Hjemslev's notion of linguistic sign may be represented as follows:



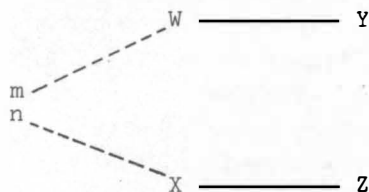
This elaboration of the distinction of content and expression is responsible for the distinction between the form of expression, i.e. the so-called *-emics* of the system in which the sign is a component, and the substance of expression, i.e. the *-etics* or the physical elements out of which the form of expression is abstracted. In a language, these elements are the speech sounds.

On the content plane, we also have the form of content, i.e. the *-emics* of meaning or concept, which is an abstraction of the *-etics* or the substance of content, i.e. the semantic usage (vide Hjemslev 1961:106). In this framework, enough room seems to be provided to

accommodate different semantic usages underlying the use of different words such as *aku* 'I', *kuló* 'I', *dalEm* 'I', etc. These different usages constitute the substance of content, which, on the form side of the content, reflects a concept that refers to 'first person'.

The Chafean framework used in this study seems quite similar to the Hjelmslevian approach to the notion of linguistic sign. According to Chafe, in the same way that phonetic structure is an abstract configuration of speech sounds, semantic structure constitutes a theoretical construct which reflects an abstraction of observable facts that are within the area of meaning. For example, in Chapter 1 we have seen that the phonetic structure of the Javanese speech sounds is representable as a matrix of functional ensembles of distinctive features, which are established in terms of such articulatory properties as areas and types of occlusion in the speech tract. Although meaning lacks the tangibility of sound, it is nevertheless subject to observation, e.g. in the case of native speakers by means of introspection, or even by means of verification with semantic tests, e.g. those of the kind as suggested by Leech (1970:343-364).

Sentences (392)-(396) and (397)-(401) reveal a case where two or more very similar, but not identical or freely interchangeable, meanings, which accordingly are subject to abstraction into different semantic structures, are reflected in the surface structure by two or more different physical representations. Following Chafe (1971a:12), we may represent the situation as follows:



where Y and Z are two different surface structures, reflecting two different semantic structures, i.e. W and X, each of which functions as an abstract theoretical construct of the meanings m and n respectively, which just due to their being similar to each other, are indicated by their close proximity.

In other words, the fact that in the area of meaning sentences (392)-(396), and also by the same token sentences (397)-(401), have a single counterpart in English, i.e. '*I see you*' and '*You see me*' respectively, is fortuitous. Even more precisely, sentences (392)-(396) may have to be represented as follows:

m	'I see you #1'	W	↔	Y	aku wEroh kowe
n	'I see you #2'	R	↔	T	kulò sumErEp sampeyan
o	'I see you #3'	S	↔	K	kulò sumErEp panjEnEñan
p	'I see you #4'	L	↔	V	dalEm sumErEp panjEnEñan
q	'I see you #5'	X	↔	Z	aku wEroh panjEnEñan

In the traditional studies of Javanese speech decorum, also known as speech levels, the discussions have generally been focused on the areas of Y, ... Z, i.e. the areas of surface differences, with sketchy explanation of the areas of meaning, i.e. m, ... q. Although this is not completely erroneous, what is lacking is a clarification of the areas of semantic structure, i.e. the areas of W, ... X, which in our view lend themselves to a description in terms of the types of relationships that occur between a speaker and his interlocutor.

The initial process of language use, where a relationship bridge is established by the speaker to cover a certain distance, let us say psychological as well as social, between him and his interlocutor, is responsible for the distinctions of degrees of courtesy. The number and types of distances, and accordingly the degrees of courtesy, are obviously fluid. But we believe that to a certain degree formalisation can be made of relationships that occur between a speaker and his interlocutor, particularly since these relationships are reflected in the surface representation in a quite regularised pattern. In this extra-linguistic area where a certain relationship is to be determined, such questions as respect, politeness, kinship relationship, education, wealth, facial appearance as well as clothing and the like are involved.

One of the most apparent linguistic manifestations in the establishment of a relationship is the obligatory choice of a certain address reference for one's interlocutor, which simultaneously implies the choice of address reference for oneself. Since this relationship is determined by the speaker, and this determines the appropriate word for 'you' and the appropriate word for 'I', this relationship system seems to follow the law of implication, which may be represented as:

$$A \longleftrightarrow B$$

where A is a word for 'you' and B is a word for 'I', both of which apply under a constraint that is responsible for the correctness of the following:

1. kowe ↔ aku
2. sampeyan ↔ kulò
3. panjEnEñan ↔ kulò
4. panjEnEñan ↔ dalEm
5. panjEnEñan ↔ aku

but not for the following:

6. *kowe \longleftrightarrow dalEm
7. *kowe \longleftrightarrow kuló
8. *sampeyan \longleftrightarrow dalEm

The last three 'relationships', i.e. 6-8, are not acceptable, for there is inconsistency in the implication. That is, once it is determined that the relationship is devoid of formality and deference on the part of the speaker, the word kowe 'you' is selected. The choice of dalEm 'I', however, is contradictory to the first choice, since dalEm 'I' indicates humility of paramount importance on the part of the speaker. The use of the expression kuló 'I', where deference of a lesser degree than dalEm 'I' is involved, will still raise a conflict in the distance type of the relationship. The choice of sampeyan 'you' also indicates the absence of marked deference or humility on the part of the speaker. The use of sampeyan 'you' implies the use of kuló 'I', or, in a certain context, especially one where some dialectal influence of East Javanese usage takes place, the use of aku 'I'. The use of dalEm 'I' as shown in 8 is contrary to the first choice.

In the next process, the established relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor imposes a constraint on the choice of the appropriate lexical items and syntactical devices, particularly affixes, to form sentences. For example, a speaker who selects, although not necessarily always overtly uses panjEnEnan 'you' to refer to his interlocutor will have to use not only dalEm 'I' or kuló 'I', and in some cases probably aku 'I', to refer to himself, but also certain words such as ðahar 'eat' to form panjEnEnan ðahar 'you eat', and nEdó 'eat' to form kuló nEdó 'I eat' or dalEm nEdó 'I eat'. The use of *dalEm ðahar or *kuló ðahar to express 'I eat' will be a breach of decorum. An insult will even be involved if *kuló ðahar 'I eat' or *dalEm ðahar is matched by *panjEnEnan nEdó 'You eat'.

The relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor may be classified into two types. The first type may be used reciprocally as well as non-reciprocally. The second type is used non-reciprocally only. In modern Javanese, the use of the second type is quite limited. It can be found in the language used in Javanese classical plays or plays depicting court stories, and also in praying. In this relationship, the speaker is in an inferior status. The speaker will refer to himself as kawuló literally '(your) subject', from which the less deferent word kuló 'I' is derived, abdi dalEm or abdi dalEm kawuló literally 'your servant' or 'your subject and servant'. The speaker will refer to his interlocutor, who from his point of view is always

of a superior status, e.g. God, a deity, or a king, as *sampeyan dalEm* literally 'your feet', *panjEnEnan dalEm* 'your walking stick', or *ñarsó dalEm* literally '(the ground) in front of you'. Furthermore, the addressee will, or as required by the occasion is supposed to, refer to himself as *eñson* 'I' and to the speaker as *siró* 'you'. Unlike most of the other types of relationships, this non-reciprocal relationship is not susceptible of a switch to any other relationship. Moreover, interchange of the use of address references is not permitted.

Another non-reciprocal relationship is limited in some gentry-oriented households, i.e. where the families are related to some line of aristocracy or where the families preserve the use of address references supposedly characterising aristocracy. In these circles, the inferior-status speaker, e.g. a child, a junior member of the family, or a servant, uses *dalEm* 'I' to refer to himself or herself, and *panjEnEnan dalEm* or *nandalEm* 'you' to refer to his or her superior-status interlocutor, e.g. a parent, a senior member of the family such as an uncle, aunt, and not infrequently an older sibling. The addressee will use *kowe* \longleftrightarrow *aku* relationship to the speaker.

In the investigator's own household, and also in many others where the husband and the wife are educated, though not necessarily on the same level of achievement, a different non-reciprocal relationship is used between the husband and the wife. The wife refers to her husband as *panjEnEnan* 'you' and to herself as *aku* 'I'. The husband refers to his wife as *kowe* 'you' and to himself as *aku* 'I'. In other families, the wife refers to her husband as *sampeyan* 'you' and to herself as *aku* 'I'. The husband uses *kowe* \longleftrightarrow *aku* relationship as above.

There are three basic types of relationships which may be used reciprocally in Javanese:

1. *kowe* \longleftrightarrow *aku* relationship
2. *sampeyan* \longleftrightarrow *kuló* relationship
3. *panjEnEnan* \longleftrightarrow *kuló* relationship

It will have been understood, that the establishment of *kowe* \longleftrightarrow *aku* relationship is responsible for such lexical specifications as illustrated by rules #17-#35.

Suppose we use such letters as K, M, and P to symbolise *kowe* \longleftrightarrow *aku*, *sampeyan* \longleftrightarrow *kuló*, and *panjEnEnan* \longleftrightarrow *kuló* relationships respectively, where the question of whether the roles of speaker and addressee should be assumed by two different persons or the same person is irrelevant, but where the same person assumes the two roles, the relationship chosen is always *kowe* \longleftrightarrow *aku*. Then in a simplified manner of Chafe's model we may summarise the semantic processes which terminate in the lexical specifications of a Javanese word as follows

(where U = nuclear word; H = peripheral word; L = abstract form of a relevant lexical item; / = 'in the context of'):

I. Formation Process

$$1. \text{ Word} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{U} \\ \text{H} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$2. \text{ U} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{N} \end{array} \right\}$$

II. Specification Process

a. Selectional

$$3. \text{ V} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{non-state} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$4. \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \end{array} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{K} \end{array} \right) \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{M} \end{array} \right) \\ \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right\}$$

b. Lexical

$$5. \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{K} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{lòrò 'sick' / } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{kowe 'you'} \\ \text{aku 'I'} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$6. \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{M} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{saket 'sick' / } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{sampeyan 'you'} \\ \text{kulò 'I'} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$7. \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \text{state} \\ \text{L} \\ \text{P} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{gErah 'sick' / panjEnEnan 'you'} \\ \text{saket 'sick' / kulò 'I'} \end{array} \right\}$$

As we can see here, we may say that 5, 6, and 7 are in complementary distribution. But their being so is in no way determined by any surface constraints, but rather by semantic ones, which operate under 4, where the choice of a particular relationship is responsible for the obligatory choice of appropriate address forms and lexical items.

4.4. STANDARD VS. NON-STANDARD JAVANESE

With regard to English, it has become fashionable to make a distinction between the speech of the educated, generally known as standard English, and the so-called non-standard English. Differences within standard English, due to differences of the levels of education, occupation, social standing, and those of geographical areas, are minimal. Non-standard English, on the other hand, shows variations of a much greater magnitude. Rich and affective vocabularies are found outside even the celebrated Webster's International Dictionary, which to a certain extent reflects the basic portion of standard English.

With regard to Javanese, the so-called Standard Speech is basically geographically as well as socially determined. That is, it has generally been accepted that the Javanese spoken in the two cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta by the educated and the gentry, i.e. those who inherit the now meaningless aristocracy-oriented life tradition and rank, and also those who are simply in a white-collar occupation, is the most prestigious speech. This acceptance of the Javanese of Surakarta and Yogyakarta is shown by the fact that this variety of Javanese is the one that is taught in schools in and outside the two cities.

The main characteristic feature of standard Javanese, as realised by the constraints on the choice of correct relationship, is, as mentioned earlier, basically a reflection of an outlook where it is desirable to exalt one's interlocutor and to use humble terms to refer to oneself. This outlook must have developed when subtle social differences among the speakers of Javanese came to the attention of these speakers, whose use of speech accordingly called for elaborate differentiations of vocabularies. One of the apparent examples is shown by the word *kuló* 'I' < *kawuló* 'servant, subject', which reflects a trace of humility. In some areas in the north part of Central Java, particularly in the cities of Tegal and Pekalongan, the use of *kawuló* 'I' may still be observed.

Non-standard Javanese is characterised by the use of vocabularies which are either unknown in standard Javanese or known only as *kasar* 'rude'. Furthermore, in some areas, it may also be characterised by a phonological variation. For example, in some dialects of East Java,

certain words have different vowels from those used in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Instead of *i* and *u*, *e* and *o* are used:

Standard	Non-standard
piteq ' <i>chicken</i> '	peteq ' <i>chicken</i> '
tutoq ' <i>hit</i> '	totoq ' <i>hit</i> '

Among certain speakers of these dialects, however, refined speech that would be passable to standard Javanese speakers as far as speech decorum is concerned is also noticed.

Violations of speech decorum are normally due to either exalting oneself or exalting one's interlocutor unnecessarily. These violations are responsible for such a labelling of the speech use of *krómó desó* '*village type courtesy*', i.e. where speech decorum goes awry. An example of *krómó desó* is where a speaker says **kulo persó* instead of the correct expression *kuló sumErEp* '*I see*', which is used in a context where *panjEnEnan persó* '*You see*', or less courteously but nevertheless also correct: *sampeyan sumErEp* '*you see*' is used.

Insufficient exposure to Standard Javanese is also responsible for the creation of what is known as 'hypercorrect form'. This hypercorrect form is used as a courteous word by a speaker who is not aware that the courtesy implied by the hypercorrectness is not acceptable in standard usage. This hypercorrect form does not belong to the vocabulary of standard Javanese. For example, knowing that there are pairs of non-courtesy vs. courtesy words such as *dadi* '*become*' : *dadós* '*become*', *kanti* '*patient*' : *kantós* '*patient*', *jati* '*teak*' : *jatós* '*teak*', a speaker of non-standard Javanese may use *wEdós* '*afraid*', which is never acceptable in standard Javanese, instead of the correct and courteous word: *ajreh* '*afraid*'. The use of *wEdós* '*afraid*', or more appropriately **wEdós*, is apparently based on the presence of the non-courteous word *wEdi* '*afraid*'. Even **ajró*s, a hypercorrection of *ajreh* '*afraid*' does occasionally occur in the speech of certain speakers, who most probably think that *ajreh* '*afraid*' is not polite enough.

4.5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD'S COMMUNICATIVE CAPACITY

The historical aspects that have brought about the complexity of the Javanese vocabulary, still in the area in want of further interdisciplinary scrutinies, have been subject to expository studies by scholars of Indonesian culture (vide Gonda 1947:333-376, particularly his bibliographical references).

For the description of Javanese as well as for the sake of the speakers of the language, most pertinent is the fact that there are rules that have to be followed beyond 'syntactical correctness' in

order that the use of speech be acceptable in a given context. That is, the knowledge of such a sentence structure as X Y Z as may be realised in English as '*The man feeds the dog*' is not sufficient in Javanese. A Javanese child, in order not to violate speech decorum already established in his speech community, has to learn that the surface form of the structure X Y Z is one, at least, of:

$X_1 \quad Y_1-(n) \quad Z_1$

and $X_2 \quad Y_2-(n) \quad Z_2$

where, in terms of the phonological shapes, and, as a matter of our assumption, also in terms of meanings, $X_1 \neq X_2$, $Y_1 \neq Y_2$, $Z_1 \neq Z_2$.

In the early stages of his development, the Javanese child communicates reciprocally by means of kowe \longleftrightarrow aku relationship with his parents and other elder interlocutors, and also with his peers. In the meantime, the child has also to learn that there are subtle differences between talking to one's own group and talking to outsiders. He has to learn that there is more than one type of relationship between him and his interlocutors.

The child has to learn the appropriate use of courtesy words, which, despite their comparatively much smaller number than the words that he can use at ease in the kowe \longleftrightarrow aku relationship, require a high degree of precision, so that his speech may be accepted, particularly by his elders. These kowe \longleftrightarrow aku vocabulary items form part of what are traditionally known as Ngoko (i.e. French 'tutoyer') words.

The known and uncontested count of non-Ngoko words in relation to the bulk of the Javanese vocabulary is about 14% (Walbeehm 1896:30-31). It is understandable that since the parents and the child share Ngoko words as the language of instruction, the effort of the parents to teach the child courtesy words and the effort of the child to acquire them are made easier.

The so-called *tótókrómó* '*decorum*' is in fact primarily analogical to the use of refined language, and not merely a complex code of good physical conduct that is highly valued in a Javanese society, where, e.g. the use of right hand to communicate with others is *tótókrómó*, whereas the use of left hand is always rude.

The Javanese child has to learn that some words are also '*refined*' or *apeq* '*good*', and as such are proper if used for other persons but may be ridiculous if applied to oneself, and that some other words are *kasar* '*rude*' or *éléq* '*bad*' if applied to others but not necessarily always bad if applied to oneself, and still that some other words are appropriate in any context and some other words are inappropriate in any context.

As long as the child is only capable of manipulating the kowe \longleftrightarrow aku relationship and only Ngoko words, he is referred to as *duron^o bisó bósó* 'not yet capable of speaking properly', an attribute that he will have to shed in order that he may be able to get on in the world.

The acquisition of speech decorum is clearly arrived at from some external influence. Evidences abound that this is so. There are cases where maids or servants who come from rural areas to a household in Surakarta with merely the ability to use the kowe \longleftrightarrow aku relationship and probably also the sampeyan \longleftrightarrow kuló relationship with their related vocabularies, are finally able to master the most courteous relationship, i.e. the panjEnEñan \longleftrightarrow kuló relationship, or even the panjEnEñan \longleftrightarrow dalEm relationship, which is even more preferable, with the related vocabulary of courtesy after years of service in the household. There are also known cases where persons of similar situations, working in a household where only the K, i.e. kowe \longleftrightarrow aku, relationship and the M, i.e. sampeyan \longleftrightarrow kuló, relationship are considered sufficient, e.g. in a less cultivated family or in many cases in a Javanese speaking family of Chinese descent, will, after years of service in the city, still be in the stage of *ora bisó bósó* 'not capable of speaking properly', when they are to communicate in a context that requires the use of the P, i.e. panjEnEñan \longleftrightarrow kuló or panjEnEñan \longleftrightarrow dalEm relationship.

Furthermore, also due to the external factors, particularly parents, some children may achieve the capacity of manipulating all the three relationships with dexterity at a younger age than other children. Thus in a certain way within standard Javanese there is a vertical scale of social dialects, in which the paramount value in terms of speech decorum is ascribed to a communicative competence that enables a speaker to use the K, M, and P relationships in the appropriate context. The least valued is the capacity of only using the K relationship, which is not infrequent among children and also those of the less privileged class.

4.6. K RELATIONSHIP

One of the significant features characterising the relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor is formality. Formality in Javanese is generally associated with respect, genuine or ceremonial. Simultaneous with formality is involved a rigorous elaboration of the physical conduct of the speech participant who initiates formality. Informality, on the other hand, normally involves more relaxed physical conduct. Where standard kinesics may be involved in a formal relationship, such kinesics may be involved in a formal relationship,

such kinesics may be totally absent in an informal relationship. For example, formality involves apparent head and torso bowing, whereas informality does not.

One of the apparent manifestations of the *tótókrómó* '*decorum*' characterised as formal is the posture called *ñapurancañ*, where one puts one's hand on top of another hand, both of which are placed in front of the stomach. In a formal relationship, the posture called *malañkEreq* '*standing akimbo*' is generally considered quite rude. In an informal relationship, on the other hand, the *tótókrómó* '*decorum*' does not obligatorily require *ñapurancañ* and *malañkEreq*, while in most cases not preferred, is permissible. Moreover, looking one's addressee straight in the eye may sometimes be a breach of decorum in a formal relationship. In an informal relationship, it is not. Object pointing in a formal relationship is preferably to be done by pointing the thumb of the right hand to the object, with the other four fingers forming a fist. The use of the index finger for such a purpose in a formal relationship is a bad decorum. Informality allows not only the use of the index finger, but also pointing toward the general direction of the interlocutor's face with it. Formality may be reciprocal or non-reciprocal. A non-reciprocal formality requires that the speech participant to whom formality is accorded have the privilege of being allowed, or more precisely requested, to go first in entering a door. Informality allows either speech participant to walk abreast with his speech counterpart, or precede him in entering a door.

The K relationship is characterised by informality. We may represent the semantic structure of, for example, a state verb that is used in the K relationship as follows:

$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{state} \end{array} \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{state} \\ K \\ \text{-formal} \end{array} \right)$$

4.7. CONSTRAINTS ON INFORMALITY

Formality and informality are independent of any consideration of status similarities or differences. That is, formality or informality may occur between equals or between speech participants of different social statuses. When informality involves different statuses, it is always exercised by the speech participant who is of a superior status, and normally is not susceptible to counterbalance of informality from the speech participant who is of a lower status, unless the latter is invited to reciprocate by the former. Thus, for instance, in an office or other formal situations where official or formal matters, such as

business or governmental affairs, are to be conducted, the superiors are likely to exercise informality in their use of speech by means of the K relationship toward the lower ranking office workers, who normally do not reciprocate.

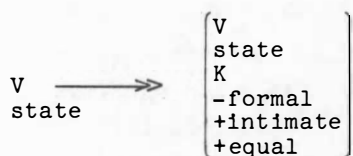
The superior-inferior categories involve, among other things, in the descending order of significance, status or rank, age, and wealth or the appearance of it. A village mayor speaking to the villagers, an executive speaking to his employees, a military commander speaking to his subalterns, an elder member of a family speaking to a younger member, or a husband speaking to his wife, is in a position to exercise informality and privileged to use the K relationship. An old man uses this relationship when speaking to a younger man, if the latter is not superior in rank. A wealthy businessman uses this relationship when speaking to a predicab driver, but not to his mayor, although the mayor is younger and probably less prosperous than he is.

Another significant feature characterising the K relationship is intimacy. Intimacy alone, however, does not always dictate the privilege of using the K relationship. In a family, the parents speak in the K relationship to the children. In this situation, intimacy is as significant as informality, while respect is not as relevant as it is in a formal relationship. The children, when they are still too young or growing up in a less cultivated families, may speak in the K relationship to their parents. But in many families the children are taught and required to speak in the P relationship, which is most courteous, to their parents. The use of the P relationship in this kind of situation is apparently not so much due to any lack of intimacy on the part of the children toward their parents, but rather to a manifestation of good conduct, i.e. respect, a feature that is not only significant in a formal relationship, but also inherent in the notion of *tótókrómó* 'decorum' and a reflection of good upbringing.

We may summarise the relationships that obtain between different generations and also between members of the same generation within a family as follows (where Gpa = grandparents; Pa = parents; E = ego; Ch = children; A — Z = descending hierarchical scale of seniority in terms of age or respect, where husband is considered senior in comparison to wife; \Rightarrow = obligatory use of relationship, with the head of the arrow representing the direction; \Leftarrow ==== = optional use of the labelled relationship, which in this family-oriented situation may be replaced by the K relationship):

the addressee is God, a deity, or a king. As far as praying is concerned, the phenomenon of using highly courteous address references is contrary to what is practiced in bahasa Indonesia and also in Western languages, where the address reference directed to God is the informal form, i.e. the 'tu', and not the 'vous', form (vide Brown and Gilman 1968).

Thus in a given context of linguistic communication where there develop informality and intimacy in the mind of the speaker toward his interlocutor, the speaker will select the K relationship to carry out the communication. The semantic structure of a verb, e.g. one characterised as State, which is used in the K relationship may now be represented as follows (where \pm = optional):



Among familiar friends, where informality is at the highest degree, speech communication is generally conducted by means of the K relationship reciprocally. A new member of the group, however, is not likely to initiate the use of the K relationship. Informality and intimacy, which are characteristic of the K relationship, are the privilege of the old-timers to initiate toward the new member, who is expected to reciprocate.

In many families, the children are taught from the early beginning they learn to speak to manipulate the use of speech by the K, M, and P relationships in the appropriate way. In some cases even the use of the exclusively non-reciprocal relationship, i.e. by which prayers are conducted, is taught to the children when they are still very young. In rural areas, generally the children learn to manipulate the K, M, and P relationships mainly in school.

At the early phase of school-going age, i.e. between five to six, the children may still find it difficult communicating with their teacher in the proper relationship, i.e. P relationship, while they may get along well with their peer in the K relationship. The teacher, to whom informality from the part of the young students is a decorum violation, will require the proper use of the P relationship and its related courtesy words by his students in addressing him. He is, on the other hand, generally not concerned with the use of non-courtesy words and the K relationship by the students among themselves.

Informality may also result from a degeneration of the relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor. This usually involves a switch

from the M or P relationship to the K relationship. An evident illustration may be observed in a squabble, where the exchange of speech is exclusively carried out in the K relationship. Obviously, the K relationship in this context cannot be said as being characterised as intimate. In such a situation, informality, particularly a demonstrative lack of respect, is put to the fore. As a matter of fact, one might even say that equality is pushed aside in favour of the assumption of superiority on the part of the speaker. That is, each party considers the other as of an inferior status entitled to no more than the K relationship.

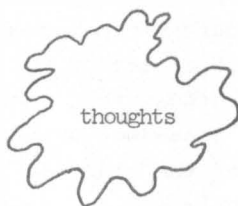
In educated circles, the lower ranking addressee is not always willing to accept the K relationship from a higher ranking speaker. A young army officer, a graduate of a military academy, for instance, will not automatically respond in the P relationship to his superior, who, thinking that intimacy will facilitate communication with his subalterns, speaks to the young officer in the K relationship. The response of the subaltern in this situation is likely to be in bahasa Indonesia. The use of bahasa Indonesia, which is more egalitarian than Javanese, is apparently to neutralise the marked gap of human statuses which the younger generation will not accept readily.

4.8. THE JAVANESE LEXICON

The Javanese lexicon is characterised by the existence of decorum-oriented words, the use of which is always related to a particular relationship, and accordingly the use of which, although in a very small number in comparison to the words that are always neutral to any relationship, must be done with precision.

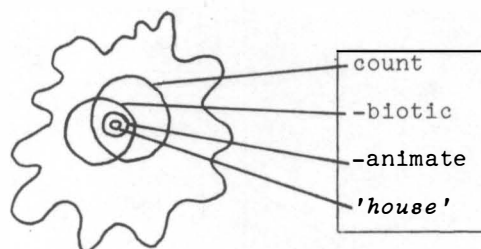
The conversion of meaning to sound on the lexical level may be reconstructed in the following way. The initial stage of the formation of a Javanese lexical item takes place when a general idea or thought develops in the mind of a speaker. In Chafe's words, this general idea belongs to "...a huge and multidimensional conceptual space" (1971b:58), which may be pictured as a shapeless configuration as follows:

FIGURE 9



In order that the general idea can be conveyed to an addressee, it is necessary that the features of the idea be organised through a semantic filter that conforms to the semantic resources available in the language (Chafe 1971b:58). This organisation of the features is responsible for the establishment of the semantic structure, i.e. the abstract theoretical construct, of the general idea, also known as 'meaning'. Suppose the general idea is 'house', then the filtering process as it may apply to English may be shown as follows:

FIGURE 10

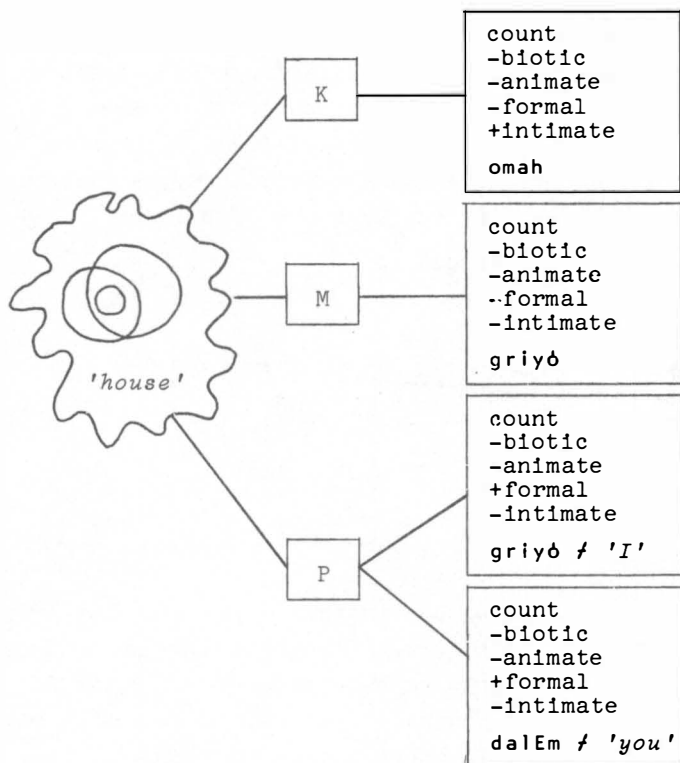


In Javanese, on the other hand, the initial stage also involves an obligatory choice of relationship between a speaker and his addressee. Due to an historical heritage, this relationship is K, M, or P. For most of the general ideas, i.e. neutral ideas, the choice of a relationship has no effect whatsoever. In other words, if a neutral idea is symbolised as I, then $I \neq K = I \neq M = I \neq P$. For example, *uwet* 'tree' is always *uwet* 'tree' in the K, M, and P relationships.

On the other hand, for the decorum-oriented ideas, e.g. 'house', 'wife', 'walk', 'with', 'how', etc., the obligatory choice of a relationship implies further differentiations, which are consequently to be reflected in the surface structure by different physical shapes. In this sense, 'house', $\neq K \neq$ 'house' $\neq M \neq$ 'house' $\neq P$. While these meanings are very similar to each other, they are by no means, in terms of the *tótókrómó* 'decorum', identical to the extent that a free interchange of them is likely to result in either rudeness or absurdity.

Thus the semantic filter that is responsible for the establishment of the semantic structure of a meaning takes place only after or concomitant with the relationship filter. The following scheme outlines a situation, where a general idea such as 'house' develops into different meanings:

FIGURE 11



The relationship filter, as a consequence of a process of converting the general idea 'house' into a surface representation, which is shown in the schema by the three different symbols K, M, and P, is where appropriate address references are determined. The final stage, which is arrived at through intermediate stages where different processes of specifications take place, is where appropriate surface representations of the Javanese lexicon are realised.

4.8.1. The Lexicon of the K Relationship

Since a large portion of the Javanese lexicon may be used irrespective of any relationship, i.e. the so-called neutral words, and since the decorum-oriented words consist of pairs, triplets, or even quadruplets of items of different but related meanings, there would not seem to be any justification to say that the lexicon that is exclusively used in a certain relationship forms the basis for the totality of the Javanese vocabulary. In traditional accounts of Javanese, however, there has been a tendency to consider the Ngoko words, which in our view are only the lexicon of the K relationship, as the basis for the

bulk of the Javanese vocabulary stock (vide e.g. Poedjosoedarmo 1968).

It would seem logically consistent to state that the Javanese lexicon consists of two subsets, let us say subset X and subset Y. Included into subset X are all those words that are neutral with reference to any relationship between a speaker and his addressee. Subset Y consists of still further subsets, each of which consists of words of different but related meanings that result from the establishment of different relationships as constraints of decorum.

If we use the lower case x to symbolise the membership of subset X, all the members of subset X may be listed as $x_1 \dots x_n$. However, as we have seen in 4.3. (vide pp.119-126) and also in 4.8. (vide particularly p.136), the establishment of a certain relationship, namely the P relationship, has an influence on further differentiations of a decorum-oriented idea or thought into two, three, or even four very similar but not identical meanings, each of which is abstracted into a distinct semantic structure, and associated with a distinct surface representation. If we use the lower case y to symbolise the membership of subset Y, we shall have not only $y_1 \dots y_n$ as the list of all the subsets that are members of subset Y, but also y_1^1, y_1^2 , and y_2^1, y_2^2, y_2^3 , and even $y_3^1, y_3^2, y_3^3, y_3^4$.

In other words, any x is always x, i.e.:

$$x \longrightarrow x \notin \begin{Bmatrix} K \\ M \\ P \end{Bmatrix}$$

whereas a certain y may be, at least, y^1 or y^2 , i.e.:

$$y \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} y^1 \notin K \\ y^2 \notin \begin{Bmatrix} M \\ P \end{Bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The following sentences illustrate the use of uwet 'tree', a member of subset X, as it occurs in the K, M, and P relationships:

K : (402) kowe wEroh uwet 'You see a tree'

M : (403) sampeyan sumErEp uwet 'You see a tree'

P : (404) panjEnEñan persò uwet 'You see a tree'

In sentences (402)-(404), we have two pairs of triplets, i.e. kowe 'you' : sampeyan 'you' : panjEnEñan 'you', and wEroh 'see' : sumErEp 'see' : persò 'see', all of which are words that belong to subset Y and may be symbolised as y_1^1, y_1^2, y_1^3 , and y_2^1, y_2^2, y_2^3 respectively. While uwet 'tree' is an X word as are other words referring to some parts of a tree, some Y words are used to refer to other parts of a tree. Under subset X are óyòt 'root', pañ 'branch', uwòh 'fruit',

while under subset Y are góðón 'leaf', rón 'leaf', kEmbañ 'flower', sEkar 'flower', kayu 'wood', kajEñ 'wood'.

If the subset y consists of two words, i.e. y^1 and y^2 , the less courteous word, i.e. y^1 , is used exclusively in the K relationship, and the courteous word is used in the M and P relationships. The cases where y consists of three or four words are less frequent.

The following sentences illustrate the use of kEmbañ 'flower' and sEkar 'flower', both of which are members of subset Y and form a pair of different but related meanings:

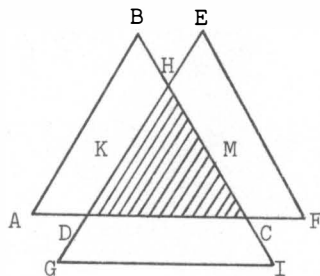
K : (405) kowe wEroh kEmbañ 'You see a flower'

M : (406) sampeyan sumErEp sEkar 'You see a flower'

P : (407) panjEnEñan persò sEkar 'You see a flower'

The following intersecting triangles summarise the configuration of the totality of the Javanese lexicon. The triangle DHC refers to the domain of subset X, i.e. where the thoughts or ideas pass through the semantic filters of relationship selection unchanged. The trapezoids ABHD, HEFC, and CDGI refer to the domain of the words used in the K, M, and P relationships respectively, i.e. the words that belong to subset Y.

FIGURE 12



In our verification of Walbeehm's count (1896:30-31), we found that the so-called non-Ngoko words are words that mostly fall within the area of the trapezoids HEFC and CDGI, with the rest, except for the so-called bósó kasar 'rude language', being classified as Ngoko words. In the tradition of describing Javanese, this position has generally been accepted without question. It is, obviously, an arbitrary decision to call the vocabulary stock that is shared in all the relationships plus the words that are used exclusively in the K relationship Ngoko words. By similar arbitrariness one could also have labelled the vocabulary stock that is shared in all of the relationships plus the words that are used only in the M and P relationships Krama words, and the words that are used exclusively in the K relationship as Ngoko words.

As in any other relationship, what concerns a speaker who speaks in the K relationship is, on the level of the lexicon, the manipulation of the appropriate words that belong to subset Y, particularly those that are used exclusively in the K relationship. This manipulation, however, is not always correct, particularly when the M or P relationship is involved.

There are two basic types of mistakes on the lexical level. One is where a speaker mistakes a word that belongs to subset X for one that belongs to subset Y. In other words, the mistake is where a neutral word is considered to be one that is not courteous, and as such needs a matching with another that is more courteous. For example, in standard Javanese place names belong to subset X, i.e. they are the same in the K, M, and P relationships. Thus *karañanóm* '*Karanganom*' is *karañanóm* irrespective of any degree of courtesy. As has been customary in Java, many places are named etymologically. The name *karañanóm* '*Karanganom*' might have been named from planting of a young, i.e. *anóm*, coconut tree, i.e. *karañ* in the new village. But the words *anóm* '*young*' and *karañ* '*coconut tree*' are words that belong to subset Y, and both are used exclusively in the K relationship. In the M relationship and the P relationship, '*young*' is *aném* and '*coconut tree*' is *kawes*, in analogy with *arañ* (a K word) '*sparse*' : *awes* (an M or P word) '*sparse*'. On this basis, the use of *kawesaném* '*Karanganom*' instead of *karañanóm* '*Karanganom*' by a speaker to his interlocutor to whom the M or P relationship applies is not infrequent. This is obviously a case of hypercorrectness, which to many speakers of standard Javanese would be called *krómó desó* '*village type courtesy*'.

Another type of mistake is where mismatching of vocabulary items with address references takes place. In certain cases, the rule to exalt one's interlocutor and use humble terms for oneself has become such a constraint, that the use of certain courtesy words for oneself is a breach of decorum in any relationship. The mistake of mismatching is common among many speakers in the north coast of Java, particularly in the areas near the cities of Pekalongan and Tegal. In terms of standard Javanese, the speech of these speakers is characterised by the application of more courteous words for oneself and less courteous words for the addressee, e.g.:

(408) *kuló bađe sare rumiyen* '*I will sleep first*'

(409) *panjEnEñan tilEm pundi* '*Where do you sleep?*'

instead of the correct standard sentences:

(410) *kuló bađe tilEm rumiyen* '*I will sleep first*'

(411) *panjEnEñan sare pundi* '*Where do you sleep?*'

The general ideas or thoughts that are susceptible to further

distinctions in the relationship filter are mostly related to nouns (including first and second person pronouns) that may be affected by possession or personal affiliation, e.g. 'house', 'spouse', 'life', 'hair', 'hand', 'leg', 'father', 'eyes', 'children'; verbs that are closely related to life sustenance, biological function, action, or personal experience, e.g. 'depart', 'eat', 'sleep', 'stand', 'work', 'see', 'angry', 'dead', 'sad', 'sick'. The investigator believes, however, that there does not seem to be any feasible way to make a generalised classification as to what ideas are susceptible to further differentiation into two, three, or four meanings by the filter of relationship. To a Javanese speaker, the only way to conform to speech decorum is by learning from his society.

In some cases, due to some regular similarities, particularly those that are observable in the surface representation, analogical generalisation of some sort may make the learning, and consequently, the mistake, easy. In some other cases, simply rote memorisation is required. This consequently calls for the need of making a distinction between grammatical competence, which any native speaker of Javanese is supposed to have, and communicative competence. In terms of speech decorum that applies in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, communicative competence can be complete only insofar as it implies the capacity of manipulating the three relationships appropriately.

In the areas where Javanese is spoken, the ability to speak in the K relationship is taken for granted. Less so is the ability to speak in the M relationship. The ability to speak in the P relationship, however, always implies good manners which may be acquired only through good upbringing or a good milieu. A more germane implication of the capacity of speaking in the P relationship is that in general the speaker is also able to speak in the K and M relationships. The reverse, however, is not true. The cases where a speaker can only speak in the P relationship, e.g. those foreigners who are always polite everywhere, are known but exceptional. Apparently, these foreigners learned Javanese in the P relationship first, quite probably on the basis of an idea that it is better to exalt one's interlocutor, though unnecessarily, than to insult him by applying humble or rude terms to him. In rural areas, there are known cases where illiterate speakers, who have no problems in speaking in the K and M relationships, know very little, if at all, how to speak in the P relationship properly.

4.8.2. Specimens of K Words

The following list illustrates a random sample of words that are used exclusively in the K relationship. As a member of subset Y, each of the words listed in the right column has at least one counterpart that is used in the M and P relationships. For the purpose of giving a general picture that there is no generalised rule as to what meanings are susceptible to further differentiation by the relationship filter, some words that belong to subset X, i.e. those words that may be used in any relationship, are listed in the left column.

=====		=====	
X		Y	
-----		-----	
uwet	'tree'	gòdòñ	'leaf'
òyòt	'root'	kEmbañ	'flower'
pañ	'branch'	kayu	'wood, timber'
payóh	'roof'	omah	'house'
jogan	'floor'	lawan	'door'
cagaq	'pillar'	pEndòpò	'front room'
lEmpon	'clay'	watu	'stone'
wEdi	'fine sand'	lEmah	'soil'
paser	'sand'	bañu	'water'
uwap	'vapor'	gEni	'fire'
urup	'flame'	kali	'river'
blumbañ	'pond'	gunon	'mountain'
gumoq	'hill'	sEgòrò	'sea'
tlògò	'lake'	srEnene	'sun'
pasiser	'coast'	udan	'rain'
samodra	'ocean'	mbulan	'moon'
lañet	'sky'	wEsi	'iron'
Embon	'dew'	wòjò	'steel'
megò	'white cloud'	kuniñan	'copper'
mEndon	'black cloud'	tEmbògò	'brass'
anen	'wind'	lEnò	'oil'
grimes	'shower'	gEteh	'blood'
intEn	'diamond'	rambot	'hair'
salòkò	'silver'	sikel	'leg'
òtòt	'muscle'	kupen	'ear'
dagen	'flesh'	cankEm	'mouth'
garEs	'shin'	gulu	'neck'
ugElugEl	'wrist'	wEtEn	'stomach'
kòncò	'friend'	dòdò	'chest'
guru	'teacher'	untu	'tooth'

X		Y	
muret	'student'	tõngó	'neighbour'
dosó	'sin'	munsoh	'enemy'
paṅgayoh	'aspiration'	bojo	'spouse'
trEsnó	'love'	rewañ	'helper'
gEteñ	'hate'	karEp	'intention'
mapan	'settle'	rósó	'feeling'
mlumpat	'jump'	sEnEñ	'fond of, happy'
ménéq	'climb up'	mlaku	'walk'
anjlok	'jump down'	manan	'eat'
ambyor	'splash down'	turu	'sleep'
ñEcap	'print'	nules	'write'
ṅgambar	'draw, paint'	mócó	'read'
mElar	'expand'	ñadEk	'stand'
biru	'blue'	puteh	'white'
wunu	'violet'	irEñ	'black'
jambón	'pink'	aban	'red'
soklat	'tan'	kunen	'yellow'
klawu	'grey'	ijo	'green'
alón	'slow'	gEles	'quick'
alom	'wilting'	duwor	'tall, high'
luntor	'discoloured'	Endeq	'short, low'
rínkeh	'frail'	kuwat	'strong'
EnEm	'six'	siji	'one'
pitu	'seven'	loro	'two'
wólu	'eight'	tElu	'three'
sónó	'nine'	papat	'four'
sékEt	'fifty'	limó	'five'
sEwidaq	'sixty'	sEpuloh	'ten'
sEwElas	'eleven'	rolas	'twelve'
pitulas	'seventeen'	patbElas	'fourteen'
tanpó	'without'	karo	'with'
nanen	'but'	utówó	'or'
tansah	'always'	arañ	'seldom'
deneñ	'by'	iki	'this'
nalikó	'when (past)'	iku	'that'
eñ	'in, at'	kae	'that yonder'
sanajan	'although'	kene	'here'
sabap	'reason'	kono	'there'
kapeñ	'times'	kónó	'yonder'

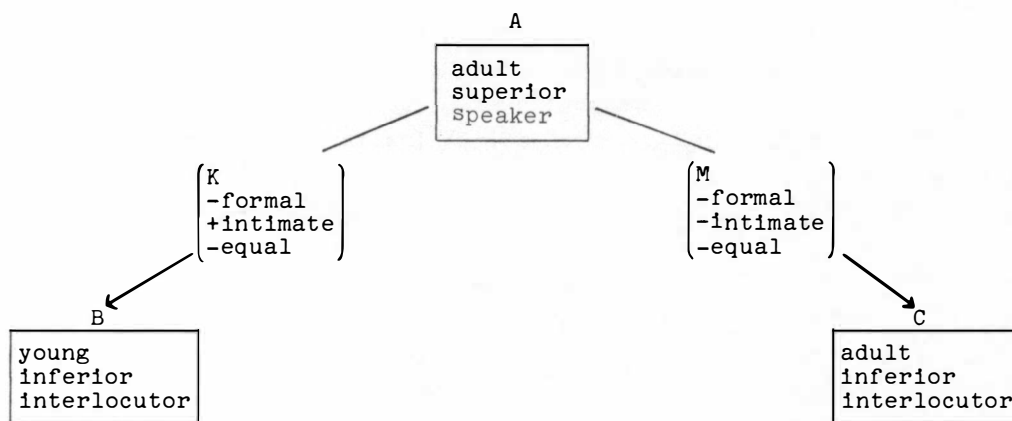
4.9. M RELATIONSHIP

The M relationship, like the K relationship, is characterised as -Formal. But whereas the K relationship is also characterised as +Intimate, the M relationship is characterised as -Intimate. The difference between the semantic structure of K relationship and the semantic structure of M relationship may be shown as follows:

$\left[\begin{array}{c} K \\ -\text{formal} \\ +\text{intimate} \\ \pm\text{equal} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} M \\ -\text{formal} \\ -\text{intimate} \\ \pm\text{equal} \end{array} \right]$
--	--

The lack of intimacy, i.e. the less direct nature, of the M relationship, which may still be traced in the use of *sampeyan*, literally 'leg, foot', instead of *kowe* 'you', is responsible for its being more courteous than the K relationship. Thus, for instance, an adult speaker of a superior status, e.g. a high-ranking government official, when intending to be courteous, is more likely to speak in the M relationship to an adult interlocutor of a lower status, e.g. a janitor, whom the speaker barely knows, than in the K relationship. To the young child of the lower ranking addressee, however, the same speaker is more likely to speak in the K relationship, which is more direct in nature than the M relationship, and consequently +Intimate is more relevantly a mere label for the directness than for intimacy in its real sense. This situation may be schematically shown as follows (where -equal with reference to B indicates the non-reciprocity of the relationship due to a gap of age as well as of rank, whereas -equal with reference to C indicates the non-reciprocity of the relationship due to a social gap only):

FIGURE 13



Under the constraints of speech decorum, both B and C are expected to speak in the P relationship to A, although in actuality they may, at the most, be only practiced in speaking in the M relationship, which is also the relationship more likely to be used by B to C.

The M relationship, being informal but with a certain degree of politeness, is normally preferred by new members of a group of speakers among whom formality will be a hindrance in the long run. For example, in the beginning of a school year some new students may speak among themselves in the M relationship. It is also known, however, that many new students, side-stepping the transitional stage of politeness, may speak among themselves directly in the K relationship. With the growing intimacy, the users of the M relationship will generally switch to the K relationship.

In the same context, speaking to the teacher in the M relationship is not courteous enough. The respect the students are expected to accord to their teacher in linguistic communication can only be properly expressed in the P relationship. The use of the M relationship and especially the K relationship to the teacher is always considered rude. The teacher, on the other hand, can only speak to the students in the K relationship. Speaking to the students in the M or P relationship is absurd. In such a situation, except for the shared neutral words, many vocabulary items that are used by the speaker are not used by the addressee, and vice versa.

The situation, however, is not to be identified with what is known as a situation where a distinction between the so-called Public Language-Usage and Formal Language-Usage and Formal Language-Usage takes place (vide Bernstein 1968:223-239). According to Bernstein, public usage characterises the speech of the English working class, whereas formal usage characterises the speech of the middle class (op. cit. 228-229).

It is true that among the less privileged Javanese, their speech is characterised predominantly by the use of the K and the M relationships with their respective vocabularies. But as we have seen earlier, the use of speech in the K and M relationships is not the monopoly of the less privileged class. Furthermore, the fact that in certain situations, e.g. where speech is directed toward an addressee of a lower status, a speaker of a superior status speaks in the K relationship does not mean that the K relationship characterises the speech of his class, but rather that it is his privilege to speak in such a relationship. In the same situation, the speaker of a lower status speaks in the P relationship to an interlocutor of a higher status as an obligation, not as a characteristic of the speech of his class.

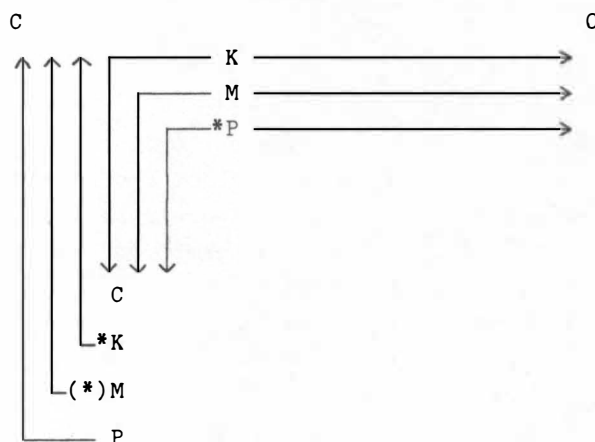
Nevertheless, in Bernstein's sense, it is true that the lack of proficiency on the part of the speaker of less privileged class in speaking in the P relationship is due to the lesser need for elaborate formalities in his in-group interaction.

Politeness as a necessary conduct of speech is certainly known by the less privileged class. For the purpose of politeness, they speak in the M relationship, which is more courteous than the K relationship. When this happens when an addressee of a superior status is involved, the tolerance of the addressee toward the insufficient courtesy, i.e. by means of the M relationship instead of the P relationship, of the speaker is generally due to the former's understanding of the situation, where he cannot expect more than the use of *krómò desò* 'village type courtesy' from such a speaker.

A general summing up of the direction of the three relationships may be stated simply as follows: the K relationship is used horizontally, i.e. among equals, or downward, i.e. to an addressee of a lower status. It cannot, however, be used upward, i.e. to an addressee of a higher status. The M relationship, being more courteous than the K relationship, may sometimes be used upward, i.e. towards an addressee of a higher status, who may accept such a usage with a frown. The M relationship is normally used horizontally or downward. The P relationship, being the most courteous relationship, may be used horizontally or upward. It is not to be used downward, lest the speech be absurd.

Figure 14 shows a schema that outlines the direction of the K, M, and P relationships (where C = speech participant, who may assume the role of a speaker or the role of an addressee; \longrightarrow = horizontal direction; \downarrow = downward direction; \uparrow = upward direction; * = unaccepted; (*) = accepted with a frown).

FIGURE 14



Among educated Javanese, the M relationship is not always preferred. A deterioration of speech communication in the P relationship, however, may be responsible for a switch to the M relationship, which may end up in the K relationship, a point just a little distance from the severance of the speaking terms.

The M relationship, being more courteous than the K relationship but less formal than the P relationship, is normally the relationship used by city dwellers when they speak to villagers, particularly when the latter come to the city to render their services to the former.

4.9.1. The Lexicon of the M Relationship

Words that belong exclusively to the M relationship, i.e. $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$ where there are at least $y_1^1 \dots y_n^1$, $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$, and $y_1^3 \dots y_n^3$, can only be properly used in the M relationship. The number of words that belong exclusively to the M relationship is small.

One illustrative example may be shown by the notion of futurity, which is differentiated by the relationship filter into three different words: *arEp* 'will', used exclusively in the K relationship, *ajEñ* 'will', used exclusively in the M relationship, and *baðe* used exclusively in the P relationship. Each of these words is used in the relationship concerned independent of the role of the speech participant, that is, each of them may be used in connection with the speaker as well as with his interlocutor. The following sentences show the use of the three words:

K Relationship

(412) *aku arEp luñð* 'I will go'

(413) *kowe arep luñð* 'You will go'

M Relationship

(414) *kulò ajEñ kesah* 'I will go'

(415) *sampeyan ajEñ kesah* 'You will go'

P Relationship

(416) *kulò baðe kesah* 'I will go'

(417) *panjEnEñan baðe tindaq* 'You will go'

The use of *ajEñ* 'will' and also any other exclusively M word in the K relationship is absurd, and the use of it in the P relationship would give rise to the effect of *kròmò desò* 'village type courtesy'.

In the examples shown above, the word *kesah* 'go' cannot be cited as a word that belongs exclusively to the M relationship, since it is also used in the P relationship to refer to the action of the speaker, but not to the action of the addressee, which is realised by a more courteous word, i.e. *tindaq* 'go'.

Much of the lexicon of the M relationship is derived, or, more appropriately, corrupted from the lexicon of the P relationship. The

derivation may involve a reduction of the number of syllables of a P word, a process which seems similar to what Joos (1967) observed in English intimate usages where a reduction of redundancies takes place. For example: mEnópó 'what' > nópó 'what', the counterpart of which is ópó 'what' in the K relationship; mEnikó 'that' > nikó 'that', the counterpart of which is kae 'yonder', or iku ~ kuwi 'that' in the K relationship; kemawón 'only' > mawón 'only', the counterpart of which is wae 'only' in the K relationship.

The derivation may also involve a deletion of an initial consonant with or without a change of the initial vowel, e.g. sampon 'already' > Empon 'already', the counterpart of which is uwes 'already' in the K relationship; wóntEn 'exist' > óntEn ~ éntEn 'exist', the counterpart of which is ónó 'exist' in the K relationship.

With regard to affixes, the distinction may be shown in the following lists:

A. Verb Affixes	=====		
	K	M	P
1. Topicalised Patient or Beneficiary (vide pp.79-80)	dí-...	dí-...	dipon-...
	taq-...	kuló ...	kuló ...
	kóq-...	sampeyan ...	panjEnEñan ...
2. Hortatory (vide pp.31; 56-57; 95)	...-ó	sampeyan ...	panjEnEñan ... ~ kuló aturi ...
	...-En	sampeyan ...	panjEnEñan ... ~ kuló aturi ...
3. Benefactive; transitivisation (vide pp.43-44; 56-57)	...-ake	...-ake	...-akEn

B. Noun Affixes	=====		
	K	M	P
1. Definite (vide pp.52-53)	...-(n)e	...-(n)e	...-(n)ipon
2. Possession (vide pp.24)	...-ku	... kuló	... kuló
	...-mu	... sampeyan	... panjEnEñan ~ kaguñanipon ...

The differences of the affixes resulting from the relationship filter may be illustrated by means of an X verb, e.g. *tutoq* 'hit', and an X noun, e.g. *jogan* 'floor', as follows:

K	M	P
<i>ditutoq</i>	<i>ditutoq</i>	<i>dipontutoq</i> 'being hit'
<i>taqtutoq</i>	<i>kuló tutoq</i>	<i>kuló tutoq</i> 'hit by me'
<i>kóqtutoq</i>	<i>sampeyan tutoq</i>	<i>panjEnEnan tutoq</i> 'hit by you'
<i>tutoqEn</i>	<i>sampeyan tutoq</i>	<i>panjEnEnan tutoq</i> 'Hit (it)!'
		~
<i>nutuqó</i>	<i>sampeyan nutuq</i>	<i>kuló aturi nutuq</i>
		<i>panjEnEnan nutuq</i> 'Hit (it)!'
		~
<i>nutuqake</i>	<i>nutuqake</i>	<i>kuló aturi nutuq</i>
<i>jogane</i>	<i>jogane</i>	<i>nutuqakEn</i> 'hit'
<i>joganku</i>	<i>jogan kuló</i>	<i>joganipon</i> 'the floor'
<i>joganmu</i>	<i>jogan sampeyan</i>	<i>jogan kuló</i> 'my floor'
		<i>jogan panjEnEnan</i> 'Your floor'
		~
		<i>kaguñanipon jogan</i>

In the lists of affixes and their equivalents above, there are pairs, i.e. $y_1^1 \dots y_n^1$ and $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$, as well as triplets, i.e. $y_1^1 \dots y_n^1$, $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$, and $y_1^3 \dots y_n^3$. In some cases of pairs, the K and M relationships share the non-courteous affixes, i.e. $y_1^1 \dots y_n^1$, whereas the P relationship uses the courteous affixes, i.e. $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$, e.g. *di-...* vs. *dipon-...*, *...-ake* vs. *...-akEn*, and *...-(n)e* vs. *...-(n)ipon*. In some other cases of pairs, the M and P relationships share the courteous full forms, i.e. $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$, whereas the K relationship uses the non-courteous affixes, i.e. $y_1^1 \dots y_n^1$, e.g. *taq-...* vs. *kuló ...*, *...-ku* vs. *... kuló*. With regard to the triplets, the K relationship uses the non-courteous affixes, i.e. $y_1^1 \dots y_n^1$, the P relationship uses the most courteous, full, forms, i.e. $y_1^3 \dots y_n^3$, and the M relationship uses the less, full, forms, i.e. $y_1^2 \dots y_n^2$, e.g. *kóq-...* vs. *sampeyan ...* vs. *panjEnEnan ...* ~ *kuló aturi ...*, *...-o* vs. *sampeyan + (a)Ns-...* vs. *panjEnEnan ...* ~ *kuló aturi ...*, *...-mu* vs. *... sampeyan* vs. *... panjEnEnan* ~ *kaguñani kaguñanipon ...*. The difference between *panjEnEnan ...* and *kuló aturi ...* is that the latter, which is literally 'I request (that you)', is even more courteous than the former. A similar difference also applies to the pair: *... panjEnEnan* vs. *kaguñanipon ...*, where the latter, which is literally '(the ... that is) the property of (you)' is also even more courteous than the former.

4.9.2. Specimens of M Words

The following list shows a sample of words that are used exclusively in the M relationship. The investigator believes that there are not many other exclusively M words outside the list. As a member of subset Y, each of the words has at least one counterpart that is used in the K relationship. To show the contrast, the related words that may be used in the K and P relationships are also listed.

K	M	P
arEp 'will (future)'	ajEn̄ 'will (future)'	baðe 'will (future)'
priye 'how'	pripon 'how'	kadòs pundi 'how'
kòndò 'tell'	sanjañ 'tell'	mator / 'I' 'tell'
		nandikò / 'you' 'tell'
òno 'exist'	òntEn ~ èntEn 'exist'	wòntEn 'exist'
wae 'only'	mawón 'only'	kemawón 'only'
iki 'this'	niki ~ mEniko 'this'	mEnikò 'this'
iku ~ kuwi 'that'	niku 'that'	mEnikò 'that'
kae 'that yonder'	nikò 'that yonder'	mEnikò 'that yonder'

4.10. P RELATIONSHIP

The most predominant semantic feature that characterises the P relationship is formality, which involves a complex system of speech conduct, e.g. kinesics, and also intonation, which informality can do without. Underlying formality is a high degree of respect, which is not so important in the K relationship, and which is of less degree in the M relationship.

The feature intimacy may be irrelevant in the P relationship, since the P relationship, like the K as well as the M relationships, may be used within a family by younger members of the family toward their elders. The following semantic configurations compare the K, M, and P relationships.

K	M	P
-formal	-formal	+formal
+intimate	+intimate	+intimate
-respect	+respect	+respect
+horizontal	+horizontal	+horizontal
+downward	+downward	+downward
-upward	+upward	+upward

The use of the P relationship by a speaker of a higher status to an interlocutor of a much lower status, especially one who is not capable to reciprocate in the P relationship, is absurd. Nevertheless, the absurdity of this downward use of the P relationship, being characterised as +respect, is less undesirable than the upward use of the K relationship. The downward use of the P relationship may, as known in anecdotal cases of the speech of non-Javanese speakers, many of them clergymen, result in even greater deference on the part of the addressee. To learners of Javanese, advice is frequently given to use the so-called Krama words, which in our view here belong to the lexicon of the P relationship (vide Horne 1961:4).

In certain situations the use of speech in the P relationship is mandatory that the success of the speakers's enterprise depends on the reaction of his interlocutor. For example, if a food vendor, a waiter, or a restaurant owner asks his well-dressed customer, to whom his speech should be properly conducted in the P relationship, in one of the following questions:

- (418) kowe arEp mañan ópó
you-will-eat-what
'What do you want to eat?'
- (419) sampeyan ajEñ nEđó nópó
you-will-eat-what
'What do you want to eat?'

instead of

- (420) panjEnEñan ñErsaqakEn mEnópó
you-want-what
'What would you like to have?'

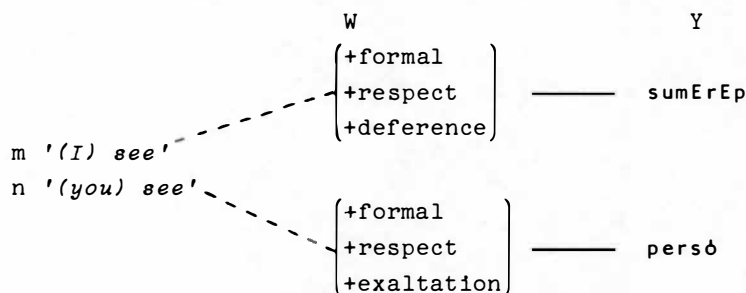
the customer, not necessarily status-conscious, may resent the way the question is asked and go away, not willing to be addressed in *bósó kasar* 'rude language', although (418) and (419), which belong to the K and M respectively, may be accepted without fuss by some of the speaker's regular customers.

As a matter of fact, (420) involves not only courteous vocabularies, but also a different structure, so that a direct question about the expected action of the addressee may be avoided. In other words, (420) is more courteous than (421) below, which is quite similar to (418)

and (419):

(421) panjEnĒnan baċ ġahar mEnópó
you-will-eat-what
'What are you going to eat?'

The indirect nature of the P relationship, of higher degree than that of the M relationship but which is absent in the K relationship, is due to the fact that in many cases the exalting of an addressee is simultaneous with self-deference on the part of the speaker. Illustrative examples are those words that apply exclusively to the speaker, but not to his interlocutor, and vice versa. Thus such a notion as 'see' is differentiated by the P filter into two distinct meanings, i.e. one 'see' in which the speaker shows his self-deference and another 'see' in which the speaker exalts his interlocutor. This situation obviously lends itself to a schematisation in terms of Chafe's framework (1971a:12, where W and Y are symbols as used in Chafe's context, particularly with reference to the page cited):



The P relationship may be used among equals to whom politeness is of paramount importance. In and around Surakarta and Yogyakarta neighbours generally know each other fairly well. But living next to each other and knowing each well do not always make Javanese speakers speak in the K relationship or the M relationship. Cases are known in which neighbours living on the same street for years speak in the P relationship reciprocally to maintain politeness.

The chain of relationships which may take place in a family may, as summarised in the schema on p.145, sometimes be fairly complex. For example, servants speak among themselves and in many cases also to the younger children of their masters in the K relationship, a relationship which is also used by the masters to the servants and the children. Speaking to the senior members of the family, the servants and the children use the P relationship. To outsiders who are not of a superior status, e.g. vendors, the members of the family speak in the M relationship.

4.10.1. The Lexicon of the P Relationship

The number of words that are used exclusively in the P relationship is small. There are only a few ideas that are susceptible to differentiation by the relationship filter into three different but related meanings, i.e. y^1 , y^2 , and y^3 , which are used in the K, M, and P relationships respectively. Even fewer are those that are susceptible to differentiation into four meanings.

The following schema summarises the types of the lexicon that belongs to subset Y. Pairs, i.e. meaning series consisting of two members, are indicated by the lower case: a, triplets by the lower case: b, and quadruplets by c. The symbol: / means 'used in the relationship'; the symbol: \neq means 'only in reference to'.

Y	a	y^1	/	K	
		y^2	/	M	
				P	
	b	y^1	/	K	
		y^2	/	M	
		y^3	/	P	
	c	y^1	/	K	
		y^2	/	M	
		y^3	/	kuló 'I'	
					/ P
		y^4	\neq	panjEnEnan 'you'	

Elaborate use of the lexicon apparently characterises the P relationship. As we have seen in 4.9.1., particularly pp.147-148, some grammatical specifications which are reflected by affixes in the K relationship are realised in full words or phrases in the P relationship. Thus instead of Verb + ...-ó, the command marker in the P relationship is either panjEnEnan + Verb or kuló aturi + Verb.

There are sentences, consisting of words that belong to subset X, which are by themselves neutral with respect to any relationship, e.g.:

- (422) bapaq nuras sumor
father-clean up-well
'Father cleans the well'
- (423) koŋaq pitu kumambañ en̄ tlogó
box-seven-float-in-lake
'There are seven boxes floating on the lake'

- (424) ibu masan mEsen
mother-set up-machine
'Mother is setting up the sewing machine'

We know, however, that sentences (422) - (424) always occur under intersentential constraints (vide Chafe 1970b:95-96) involving an obligatory selection of a certain relationship between a speaker and his interlocutor. In a larger context where other sentences occur, and also primarily in any context of speech use where address references are to be selected, any of the sentences (422) - (424) can only belong to the K, M, or P relationship.

4.10.2. The Forms of Courtesy Words

In some cases, the formal differences between the non-courteous words, i.e. those which belong to the K relationship symbolised in the schema on p.152 as y^1 / K , and the courteous words, i.e. those that are used in the M relationship and the P relationship and symbolised as $y^2 / \overset{M}{P}$, y^2 / M , y^3 / P , $y^3 \neq kul\acute{o} / P$, and $y^4 \neq panjEnEñan / P$, seem to follow a regularised pattern. In some other cases, however, the formal differences are unpredictable that the only way to acquire them is by rote memorisation.

In certain cases, the most courteous word in a meaning series is a loan word, e.g. Sanskrit. But in some other cases the reverse is true. For example, *bañu* 'water', a word of Javanese origin, is less courteous than *toyó* 'water', a Sanskrit loan word. Similarly, *omah* 'house' is less courteous than the Sanskrit loan word *griyó* 'house'. The less courteous words are used in the K relationship, while the courteous words are used in the M and P relationships. On the other hand, the word *gEni* 'fire' < *agni* (Sanskrit) 'fire' is a non-courteous word, and used mostly exclusively in the K relationship, whereas *latu* 'fire' < *latu* (Old Javanese) 'spark' is a courteous word, and used in the M and P relationships.

On the basis of surface differences, the forms of courtesy words in comparison to the forms of related non-courtesy words may be subdivided into two types: substitution type and modification type. The first type involves unpredictable phonological differences between a non-courteous word and its related courteous counterpart. The second type involves phonological similarities that are regularised in some way between a non-courteous word and its related courteous counterpart.

4.10.2.1. Substitution

Many of the courtesy words of the substitution type originate from foreign, i.e. Sanskrit, and also local, e.g. Old Javanese or Malay,

sources.

Substitution may sometimes also result from a circumlocution, an essential characteristic of the indirect nature of courtesy. For example, the P words *rosan* ~ *ròsan* 'sugar cane', *andapan* 'pig', *kambañan* 'duck', and *wòjò* 'tooth' are circumlocutory words, and derived, respectively, from *ròs* 'node' + ...-an 'collection' (vide 2.6.3.1.), *andap* 'low' + ...-an 'characterised as', *kambañ* 'float' - ...-an 'capable of', and *wòjò* 'steel'. The counterparts that are used in the K relationship, and sometimes also in the M relationship, are *tEbu* 'sugar cane', which is indeed characterised as a collection of nodes, *cèlèñ* 'boar' or *babi* 'pig', characterised as a small animal, *bèbèq* 'duck', characterised as being able to float on water, and *untu* 'tooth', characterised by its being hard as steel.

The following list, which excludes many of the words already shown in the previous lists, illustrates the unpredictable surface contrasts between a non-courteous word and its courteous counterpart(s). The listing of general glosses in the right-most column is obviously for convenience, since, on the basis of our view, a non-courteous word has a different meaning and semantic structure from its courteous counterpart(s).

NON-COURTEOUS		COURTEOUS	
K	M	P	
iyò	ñgeh	iñgeh	'yes'
ora	bòtEn	bòtEn	'no'
sópò	sintEn	sintEn	'who?'
ðiseq	riyen	rumiyen	'formerly'
uwes	Empon	sampon	'already'
tEmu	pañgeh	pañgeh	'find'
adòl	sade	sade	'sell'
tuku	tumbas	tumbas / 'I'	'buy'
		pundot / 'you'	'buy'
mati	pEjah	pEjah / 'I'	'dead'
		sedò / 'you'	'dead'
lòró	saket	saket / 'I'	'sick'
		gErah / 'you'	'sick'
urep	gEsañ	gEsañ / 'I'	'live'
		sugEñ / 'you'	'live'
akèh	kañah	kañah	'much, many'
sEtíteq	sEkEdeq	sakEdeq	'little (not many, much)'
cileq	alet	alet	'small'

NON-COURTEOUS		COURTEOUS	
K	M	P	
gEde	agEn	agEn	'big'
cEñdeq	andap	andap	'low, small'
duwor	ingel	ingel	'high, tall'
gódón	rón	rón	'leaf'
kEmbañ	sEkar	sEkar	'flower'
watu	seló	seló	'stone'
(tE)mbako	sótó	sótó	'tobacco'

4.10.2.2. Modification

In comparison with its related non-courteous counterpart, a courtesy word that results from the process of the relationship filter and surface modification shows a surface difference in terms of the vowels, consonants, final syllables, or the number of syllables. These differences are arrived at directly or through an intermediary stage, in which a word, normally only in its reconstructed form, functions as a basis of modification. For example, the word awón 'bad', which is a courteous word used in the M and P relationships, is related to the word óló 'bad', a K word, showing modifications of the final syllable and the initial vowel. We may say that the surface modification of óló 'bad', assuming that it is the basis, into awón 'bad' is a direct one. On the other hand, the courteous word sEgawón 'dog', which is used in the M and P relationships, results from an indirect process, which initiates not from the word asu 'dog', used in the K relationship, but from a word no longer used in modern Javanese, i.e. *sEgóló < srigóló (Sanskrit) 'jackal'. Obviously in analogy with óló 'bad' vs. awón 'bad', we have asu 'dog' ~ *sEgóló 'dog' vs. sEgawón.

4.10.2.2.1. Vowel Modification

The vowel modification that is involved in the creation of the Javanese courtesy words is in general regular. The following list illustrates the surface contrasts between a courtesy word, normally used in the P and M relationships, and a non-courtesy word, normally used in the K relationship but sometimes also in the M relationship (where C = consonant or a sequence of consonants; (C) = possible consonant):

Type of Modification	Non-Courtesy Word	Courtesy Word	
...óCò > ...aCi	tómpò	tampi	'get'
	utówò	utawi	'or'
	ródò	radi	'slightly'
	margò	margi	'because'
	pEnđòpò	pEnđapi	'front room'
CuC _ò ^a (C) > CiC _ò ^a (C)	mulò	milò	'therefore'
	kunò	kinò	'ancient'
	muṅgah	miṅgah	'go up'
CuC _ò ^a (C) > CiC _ò ^a (C)	susah	sisah	'sad'
	murah	mirah	'cheap'
CuC _ò ^u (C) > CEC _a ^ò (C)	tuṅgu	tEṅgò	'wait'
	kuru	kErò	'thin'
	luṅgoh	lEṅgah	'sit'
	muṅgoh	mEṅgah	'in case'
	ruboh	rEbah	'fall down'
(C)aCòC > (C)aCèC	akón	akèn	'command'
	takón	takèn	'inquire'
	aṅoh	aṅèn	'watch'
	paṅón	paṅèn	'shepherd'
(C)oCaC > (C)eCaC	owah	ewah	'change'
	obah	ebah	'move'
	opah	epah	'wage'
	somah	semah	'spouse'
(C) _i ^E C _u ^o (C) > (C) _i ^E C _ò ^a (C)	rEbot	rEbat	'snatch'
	sEbot	sEbat	'mention'
	lEmu	lEmò	'fat'
	iṅu	iṅah	'take care of'
	rEmbok	rEmbak	'discuss'

There are two pairs of words which are not under any of the patterns above, i.e. duroṅ 'not yet' (non-courteous) vs. dèrèṅ 'not yet' (courteous), and anóm ~ Enóm 'young' (non-courteous) vs. anèm ~ Enèm 'young' (courteous).

4.10.2.2.2. Consonant Modification

The consonant modification that is involved in the creation of courtesy words is less regular and less frequent than the vowel variation. The following list illustrates the few cases of surface contrasts between a word of courtesy and its non-courteous counterpart involving consonant modification:

NON-COURTEOUS	COURTEOUS	
bañEt	sañEt	'excessive'
barEñ	sarEñ	'together'
mau	wau	'just now'
mbulan	wulan	'moon'
bantEr	santEr	'speedy'
cEḍaq	cElaq	'near'
ḍEmEn	rEmEn	'fond of'
waras	saras	'recuperated'

4.10.2.2.3. Final-Syllable Modification

The modification of a word-final syllable that is involved in the creation of the Javanese words of courtesy is more varied and copious than the vowel and consonant modifications. The following list illustrates the final-syllable modification that is responsible for the surface contrast between a word of courtesy and its non-courteous counterpart (where X = the final syllable or part of the final syllable of a non-courteous word):

Type of Modification	Non-Courtesy Word	Courtesy Word	
X > -Et	mlebu	mlebet	'enter'
	ambu	ambet	'smell'
X > -Et	samboñ	sambet	'connect'
	laboh	labet	'sacrifice'
	ewoh	ewet	'occupied'
X > -ntEn	pirò	pintEn	'how many, much'
	sore	sòntEn	'afternoon'
	dinò	dintEn	'day'
	nuli	nuntEn	'then'
	òno	òntEn / M	'exist'
		èntEn / M	
		wòntEn / P	
	mòri	mòntEn	'cambric'
	kòri	kòntEn	'door'

Type of Modification	Non-Courtesy Word	Courtesy Word	
X > -nton	mari	manton	'recover'
	pari	panton	'rice plant'
	kari	kanton	'remain behind'
	kirem	kinton	'send'
	salen	santon	'change'
	priyayi	priyanton	'gentry'
X > -jEñ	kayu	kajEñ	'wood, timber'
	maju	majEñ	'go forward'
	mburu	mbujEñ	'chase'
	waluku	walujEñ	'plough'
	mbarEp	mbajEñ	'first child'
	layu	lajEñ	'run'
X > -òs	klayu	klayEñ	'eager to go along'
	critò	criyòs	'story'
	tlatèn	tlatòs	'painstaking'
	dadi	dadòs	'become'
	jati	jatòs	'teak'
	ladi	ladòs	'serve'
	aji	aòs	'value'
	pajEk	paòs	'tax'
	ganti	gantòs	'alternate'
	ròsò	raòs	'taste'
	sidò	siyòs / M saestu / P	'eventually'
	mócò	maòs	'read'
	kuwòsò	kuwaòs	'potent'
	kuwater	kuwatòs	'fearful'
	baten	batòs	'inner, spiritual'
X > -òn	ólò	awòn	'bad'
	kalah	kawòn	'defeated'
	asu ~ *sEgólò	sEgawòn	'dog'
	wae ~ *kewólò	kemawòn	'only'
X > -wes	aran̄	awes	'sparse'
	laran̄	awes	'expensive'
	añan̄	awes	'bargain'
	prakórò	prakawes	'case, matter'
	sawEtórò	sawEtawes	'several, some'
	ka tòró	katawes	'apparent'
	karan̄	kawes	'coconut tree'

Type of Modification	Non-Courtesy Word	Courtesy Word	
X > -cal	wulañ	wucal	'teach'
	wilañ	wical	'count'
	ilañ	ical	'disappear'
	walulañ	wacucal	'leather'
	buwañ	bucal	'throw away'
X > -dòs	kóyó	kadòs	'like, as'
	supóyó	supadòs	'in order that'
	upóyó	upadòs	'search for'
	pitóyó	pitadòs	'believe'
X > -En	sEpi	sEpEn	'desolate'
	kaku	kakEn	'stiff'
	ñaku	ñakEn	'claim'
	pasar ~ *pEkan	pEkEn	'market'
X > -ñsol	tali	tañsol	'cord, rope'
	bali	wañsol	'return'
	kwali	kwañsol	'earthen pot'
	kEdEle	kEdañsol	'soy bean'
X > -bEn	padu	pabEn	'squabble'
	adu	abEn	'confront, fight'
	maido	maibEn	'disbelieve'
	madu	mabEn	'honey'
X > -nde	saroñ	sande	'sarong'
	waroñ	wande	'small store'
	wuruñ	wande	'abortive'
X > -CVI	sEgò	sEkol	'cooked rice'
	gampan	gampel	'easy'
X > -den	rótó	raden	'smooth'
X > -mbEñ	kEpalañ	kEpambEñ	'obstructed'

4.10.2.2.4. Variation of the Number of Syllables

In a courteous or formal relationship, which is characterised by elaboration of some sort, the question of rhythm is frequently essential and responsible for the more desirability of a long phonological representation than a short one, where abruptness is identified with rudeness. Therefore, for certain words of courtesy related to non-courteous ones an elaboration in terms of the phonological shape by means of adding an extra syllable is necessary.

In written documents as well as in stilted speech usage, the additional syllable is *pon*, which in some words has now become *mEn*. This extra syllable is attached before, or, in the case of an affix, after a non-courteous form.

The following list shows the surface contrasts between a long phonological representation of a courteous form and a shorter phonological representation of a non-courteous form:

K	M	P
ópó 'what'	nópó 'what'	*punópó ~ mEnópó 'what'
iki ~ *ikó 'this'	niki 'this'	*punikó ~ mEnikó 'this'
iku ~ kuwi 'that'	niku 'that'	*puniku ~ mEnikó 'that'
kae ~ *ikó 'that yonder'	nikó 'that yonder'	*punikó ~ mEnikó 'that yonder'
Endi 'where'	pundi 'where'	pundi 'where'
di-...	di-...	dipon-... 'passive marker'
...-(n)e	...-(n)e	...-(n)ipon 'definite marker'

4.11. OTHER TYPES OF RELATIONSHIPS

The constraints of speech decorum, which determine the choice of appropriate address references and their related vocabularies and affixes, apply not only to a relationship that is established in an actual speech activity between a speaker and his interlocutor, but also to a potential relationship between either of these speech participants and a third person who is absent. Accordingly, either party of the speech participants is made aware of the relationship between the other party and the third person by the use of decorum-oriented words that are applied to the third person.

On the basis of the three relationships we have dealt with, and from the viewpoint of a speaker with reference to a third person, there are nine possible sets of relationships, which may be outlined as follows (where A = speaker; B = his addressee; C = absent third person; horizontal ordering and vertical ordering refer to the relationships between the speaker and his interlocutor and the third person respectively, which are indicated by K, M, or P depending on which applies):

#1. A	K	B	#2. A	K	B	#3. A	K	B
	K			M			P	
	C			C			C	

#4. A M B
K
C

#5. A M B
M
C

#6. A M B
P
C

#7. A P B
K
C

#8. A P B
M
C

#9. A P B
P
C

The following are examples of sentences illustrating the sets of relationships above:

- #1. (425) yèn kowe arEp mañan ñEnténónó tEkane aḍimu ḍiseq
if-you-will-eat-wait!-the arrival-your younger sibling-first
'If you want to eat, wait until your younger brother comes first'
- #2. (426) yèn kowe arEp mañan ñEnténónó tEkane paqsoper ḍiseq
if-you-will-eat-wait!-the arrival-the driver-first
'If you want to eat, wait until the driver comes first'
- #3. (427) yèn kowe arEp manan ñEnténónó rawuhe bapaq ḍiseq
if-you-will-eat-wait!-the arrival-father-first
'If you want to eat, wait until father comes first'
- #4. (428) yèn sampeyan ajEñ nEdò sampeyan ñEntòsi dugine aḍi sampeyan riyeñ
if-you-will-eat-you-wait-the arrival-younger sibling-you-first
'If you want to eat, wait until your younger brother comes first'
- #5. (429) yèn sampeyan ajEn nEdò sampeyan nEntòsi dugine paqsoper riyeñ
if-you-will-eat-you-wait-the arrival-the driver-first
'If you want to eat, wait until the driver comes first'
- #6. (430) yèn sampeyan ajEñ nEdò sampeyan ñEntòsi rawuhe bapaq riyeñ
if-you-will-eat-you-wait-the arrival-father-first
'If you want to eat, wait until father comes first'
- #7. (431) manawi panjEnEñan baḍe ḍahar kulò aturi ñEntòsi ḍatEñipon rayi panjEnEñan rumiyen
if-you-will-eat-I-request-wait-the arrival-younger sibling-you-first
'If you want to eat, please wait until your younger brother comes first'
- #8. (432) manawi panjEnEñan baḍe ḍahar kulò aturi ñEntòsi ḍatEñipon paqsoper rumiyen
if-you-will-eat-I-request-wait-the arrival-the driver-first
'If you want to eat, please wait until the driver comes first'
- #9. (433) manawi panjEnEñan baḍe ḍahar kulò aturi ñEntòsi rawohipon bapaq rumiyen
if-you-will-eat-I-request-wait-the arrival-father-first

The use of rawuhe '*the arrival (of)*' in #3 (427) instead of tEkane '*the arrival (of)*' as used in #1 (425) and #2 (426) is due to the greater deference on the part of the speaker toward the third person to whom the speaker would speak in the P relationship. A similar reason underlies the use of rawuhe '*the arrival (of)*' in #6 (430). The use of datEnipon '*the arrival (of)*' in #7 (431) and #8 (432) is due to the fact that the speaker would speak to the absent third person in the K or M relationship, and his deference toward his current interlocutor to whom he speaks in the P relationship necessitates him to use datEnipon '*the arrival (of)*', and not tEkane '*the arrival (of)*', which consists of a non-courteous word, i.e. tEkò '*come*', and a non-courteous affix, i.e. ...-(n)e, nor dagine '*the arrival (of)*', which consists of a courteous word, i.e. dugi ~ dumugi '*come*', and a non-courteous affix, i.e. ...-(n)e. The use of tEkane '*the arrival (of)*' is allowed in #1 (425), #2 (426), for the reason that the speaker would speak to the absent third person either in the K relationship or in the M relationship. The use of a combination of a courteous word, i.e. dugi ~ dumugi '*come*', and a non-courteous affix, i.e. ...-(n)e, in #4 (428) and #5 (429) is characteristic of the M relationship, which is more courteous than the K relationship, but not as courteous as the P relationship.

Should the speaker, however, refer to the action of arriving of his current interlocutor in #7 (431), #8 (432), and #9 (433), he can only use the courteous word rawoh '*come*'.

As a matter of fact, speech decorum in Javanese is more fluid and varied than those summarised by the K, M, and P relationships. Among adults, whose sense of decorum is assumed to be generally more sophisticated than children's, address relationships other than the K, M, and P relationships are known. These other address relationships, which also imply the choice of appropriate vocabularies, develop from the same basis underlying speech decorum, i.e. to exalt one's interlocutor. The following are typical, although not exhaustive, address relationships other than the K, M, and P relationships, which differ from the K, M, and P relationships at least with respect to the use of the address reference for one's interlocutor:

- sampeyan ↔ aku (E) relationship;
- awaqmu ↔ aku (W) relationship;
- sliramu ↔ aku (R) relationship;
- panjEnEnan ↔ aku (J) relationship;
- kEn sliró ↔ kuló (G) relationship.

4.11.1. The E Relationship

The use of speech in the E relationship, although recorded in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, takes place mostly where at least one of the speech participants comes from outside Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In some cases, the use of speech in E relationship is labelled as *córó jówó wetan* 'in the manner as known in East Java'.

The use of speech in the E relationship is considered more courteous than that in the K relationship, but less formal and more intimate than the use of speech in the P relationship. This is overtly shown by the use of *sampeyan* 'you', which is more courteous than *kowe* 'you', and by the use of *aku* 'I', which is not as deferent as *kuló* 'I'.

The E relationship is normally used horizontally, although in rare cases a downward use may also be observed, but it is never used upward.

The semantic structure of the E relationship may be summarised as follows:

E
-formal
+intimate
+polite
+horizontal
+downward
-upward

The affixes used in the E relationship are those which are shared by the K and M relationships (vide 4.9.1., particularly pp.147-148). There are, however, two different choices for the rest of the lexicon. These two types of choices are dictated by the degrees of politeness (let us call them Polite 1 and Polite 2) whereby a speaker is to conduct his speech communication with his interlocutor.

Polite 1 is not as courteous as Polite 2. To himself, the speaker applies vocabularies that are used in the K relationship, irrespective of any degree of politeness. To his interlocutor, however, the words that are applied are those that belong to the K relationship if Polite 1 is intended, or the words that belong to the P relationship (vide 4.10.2. ff. on pp.153-160), if Polite 2 is intended. Thus except for the use of *sampeyan* 'you', everything else in the E polite 1 relationship is identical with those in the K relationship.

The E Polite 1 relationship and the E Polite 2 relationship may be used horizontally. But only the E Polite 1 relationship may be used downward. The difference may be summarised in the following semantic structures:

E	E
-formal	-formal
+intimate	+intimate
+polite 1	+polite 2
+horizontal	+horizontal
+downward	-downward
-upward	-upward

The following sentences show sentences that are used in the E relationship:

Polite 1

- (434) sampeyan opò wes wEroh omahku
you-?-already-see-my house
'Have you seen my house?'
- (435) ðeq sampeyan luñò aku lórò tEloñ dinò
when-you-go-I-sick-three-day
'When you were away, I was sick for three days'

Polite 2

- (436) sampeyan opò wes persò omahku
you-?-already-see-my house
'Have you seen my house?'
- (437) ðeq sampeyan tindaq aku lórò tEloñ dinò
when-you-go-I-sick-three-day
'When you were away, I was sick for three days'

4.11.2. The W Relationship

The W relationship is identical with the K relationship except for the use of awaqmu 'you' instead of kowe 'you' for the reference of one's interlocutor. Since, however, awaqmu, literally 'your body', is less direct than kowe 'you', the W relationship is more courteous than the K relationship. It is, however, less courteous than the E relationship, and accordingly less susceptible to the use of words that belong to the P relationship. Furthermore, M words are never used in the W relationship.

Unlike the E relationship, the W relationship seems native to Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The W relationship is used horizontally or downward, but never upward. If we call the degree of courtesy characterising the W relationship Polite 3, which is less than that characterising Polite 1, the semantic structure of the W relationship may be shown as follows:

W	
-formal	
+intimate	
+polite 3	
+horizontal	
+downward	
-upward	

The W relationship may be observed in the speech of an uncle or aunt to an adult nephew or niece, a teacher to his adult former student, a parent-in-law to a son-in-law, a wife or a husband to an adult younger brother-in-law. The following examples show sentences characterising the W relationship:

- (438) awaqmu ópó wes wEroh omahku
you-?-already-see-my house
'Have you seen my house?'
- (439) nalikó awaqmu luñó aku lóró tEloñ dinó
when-you-go-I-sick-three-day
'When you were away, I was sick for three days'

4.11.3. The R Relationship

The R relationship is very similar to the E relationship. One significant difference is shown by the use of the word *sliramu* 'you' in the R relationship instead of *sampeyan* 'you'.

In the meaning series: *awaq* 'body' vs. *badan* 'body' vs. *sariró* ~ *sliró* 'body', the word *sliró* 'body' is the most courteous, and used to refer to the body of one's interlocutor in the P relationship. Thus the word *sliramu* 'you' but literally 'your body' consists of a quite courteous word: *sliró* 'body' and the suffix ...-mu 'your', which belongs to the K relationship (vide p.147). The address reference *sliramu* 'you' is clearly more courteous than *awaqmu* 'you', although both are literally 'your body'. The address reference *sliramu* is obviously also more courteous than *kowe* 'you', which is direct.

The R relationship shares the use of the same set of affixes with the E relationship. The R relationship, however, differs from the E relationship in that the latter is never used within a family circle, whereas the former may be observed inside as well as outside a family circle. For example, a parent-in-law may use the R relationship to a child-in-law. But the use of the E relationship in such a situation is out of the question. We may accordingly use +Relative to characterise the R relationship, and -Relative to characterise the E relationship.

The degree of politeness of the R relationship seems quite similar to Polite 2 of the E relationship. The difference between the E Polite

1 relationship, the E Polite 2 relationship, and the R relationship may be shown by the following semantic structures:

E	E	R
-formal	-formal	-formal
+intimate	+intimate	+intimate
+polite 1	+polite 2	+polite 2
+horizontal	+horizontal	+horizontal
+downward	-downward	+downward
-upward	-upward	+upward
-relative	-relative	+relative

The R relationship may be observed in the speech used by fiancées, a parent-in-law to a son-in-law but not vice versa, nor normally to a daughter-in-law, to whom the speech is in the K relationship, a husband to his wife and vice versa, and also by officials of high status among themselves.

The following examples show sentences that are used in the R relationship:

- (440) sliramu òpò wes persò omahku
you-?-already-see-my house
'Have you seen my house?'
- (441) nalikò sliramu tindaq aku lórò tEloñ dinò
when-you-go-I-sick-three-day
'When you were away, I was sick for three days'

4.11.4. The J Relationship

In the J relationship, one's interlocutor is referred to as panjEnEñan 'you', the most courteous in the meaning series: kowe 'you' vs. sampeyan 'you' vs. panjEnEñan 'you'.

The affixes used in the J relationship are exactly those that are also used in the K and M relationships. The rest of the lexicon, except for those that apply to the addressee, which are identical with those applicable exclusively to one's interlocutor in the P relationship, are those that are also used in the K relationship.

In comparison to the E, W, and R relationships, the J is the most courteous but is similarly intimate. The J relationship may be used horizontally or upward, but not downward. The following is the semantic structure of the J relationship:

J
[
-formal
+intimate
+polite 2
+horizontal
+upward
-downward
+relative
]

In the J relationship, intimacy and respect go hand in hand. It is commonly observed in the speech used by a wife to her husband, but not vice versa, a government official to another, close friends of the same high status, and the like.

The following examples show sentences that are used in the J relationship:

- (442) panjEnEñan ópó wes persó omahku
you-?-already-see-my house
'Have you seen my house?'
- (443) nalikó panjEnEñan tindaq aku lóró tEloñ dinó
when-you-go-I-sick-three-day
'When you were away, I was sick for three days'

4.11.5. The G Relationship

The G relationship is derived from the P relationship by means of using the phrase kEñ sliró 'you' or (kEñ) sliró panjEnEñan 'you' instead of panjEnEñan 'you' as the address reference for one's interlocutor. Being less direct than panjEnEñan 'you', kEñ sliró, literally 'the body' or kEñ sliró panjEnEñan, literally 'the body of yours', is accordingly more courteous.

The lexicon and affixes used in the G relationship are, in addition to the neutral lexicon of subset X, those that normally belong to the P relationship.

The G relationship is characterised as highly formal and unintimate, and as such, unlike the P relationship, may not be used within a family circle. Accordingly, the G relationship may be characterised as -Relative, whereas the P relationship may be characterised as +Relative, since it may also be used outside a family circle.

The G relationship may be used horizontally or upward, but never downward.

The following semantic structures show the differences between the P relationship and the G relationship:

P	G
+formal	+formal
+intimate	-intimate
+horizontal	+horizontal
+downward	-downward
+upward	+upward
+relative	-relative

The use of speech in the G relationship is limited, and in some cases it may sound stilted. It may characterise the speech of officials of high rank, who are generally not in frequent contact with each other. The speech used among neighbours who do not visit each other frequently may also be characterised by the G relationship. The following are sentences that are used in the G relationship:

- (444) kEñ slirò mEnòpò sampon persò griyò kulò
the-body-?-already-see-house-I
'Have you seen my house?'
- (445) nalikò kEñ slirò tindaq kulò saket tigan dintEn
when-the-body-go-I-sick-three-day
'When you were away, I was sick for three days'

CONCLUDING REMARKS

An attempt at close scrutiny of Javanese, following the basic model suggested by Chafe, has been made in this study. The focus of the study has been on the description of the grammatical and communicative aspects of the language. The identification of the regularities of the structural elements and constructs has been made in the first three chapters, which are based on a certain communicative usage of the language, generally known as Ngoko. Particular attention to the wider aspects of different communicative usages has been developed in the last chapter, i.e. Chapter 4.

The influence of Javanese on the development of Bahasa Indonesia, the state language of Indonesia, has been known to be quite noticeable (Adnan1 1971:5), and has become a focus of serious study (Poedjosoedarmo 1970). While it is true that many Javanese loans may be traced further to older sources such as Sanskrit and Kawi, it is also true that many other loans have been taken from the realm of modern Javanese contexts. This has frequently given rise to controversies. Some purists are still around and like to point out, sometimes not incorrectly, that many of Bahasa Indonesia's forms are Javanised, and consequently deviant or even wrong. Their lamentation of the Javanese 'pollution' of bahasa Indonesia indicates that there is a strong carry-over of linguistic features from Javanese to bahasa Indonesia.

The study presented in the previous chapters should be sufficient indication, that the use of language is more than a mere manipulation of surface linguistic forms. The principle of decorum to exalt the addressee is also known in bahasa Indonesia, where different address references are to be used according to the degree of relationship between the speaker and his interlocutor. There are, however, known instances where Javanese words are used in bahasa Indonesia not merely as totally loaned words, but particularly as more courteous substitutes for already existing Indonesian equivalents. A recent controversy of

the 'wrong' use of a courteous Javanised word *pirsawan* instead of *penonton* for 'viewer' is but an example of a lack of understanding of the need for a clear-cut boundary between grammatical correctness and communicative correctness.

The discussion presented in Chapters 1-3, while obviously not exhaustive, should point out clearly the areas from which a structural comparison may be made between Javanese and bahasa Indonesia, particularly with reference to grammatical correctness. Many points still need further expository studies. To the best of the investigator's knowledge, no researches have been done on the vowel variation and change in Javanese.

The basis for the need of a comprehensive study of Javanese derives not merely from the close relationship between Javanese and bahasa Indonesia per se, but particularly from the role of Javanese as a major source of loans, and also of interferences, for the development of bahasa Indonesia. It may even be claimed that any effort at standardising bahasa Indonesia that ignores this kind of study is bound to be an unrealistic undertaking. This work, which is not directly concerned with such a claim, is a partial attempt at such a study.

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